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St. Jacob's Antwerp Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church

JEFFREY MULLER

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By

Jeffrey Muller



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Cover illustration: The center row of stained glass panels from the window illustrated in fig. 6.13: St. Jacob's, Antwerp, Our Lady Chapel, Jan de Labaer. Visitation.

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For Elana



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Abbreviations

Archives

ABA	Archieven van het Bisdom Antwerpen
FAA	Felix Archief Antwerpen
RAA	Rijksarchief Antwerpen
RAAKASJA	Rijksarchief Antwerpen Kerkarchief Sint-Jacobs Antwerpen

Printed Sources

NBW	<i>Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek</i> . Koninklijke Vlaamse Academiën van België. 16 vols. Brussels, 1964–2002.
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Introduction

... and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

JOB 1:15

This book tells the history of St. Jacob's, the only church to survive intact from Antwerp's great age when that city stood as the bulwark of the Counter Reformation in the South Netherlands, the region that now covers most of Belgium and parts of northern France.

Unlike Italy or Spain, where many churches still display their Counter Reformation decoration, the sheer fact of St. Jacob's survival makes it a unique monument of history. All the other churches of the South Netherlands have been destroyed completely or in part. But in St. Jacob's a visitor today can see the interior of the church much as it appeared in the mid-18th century, as if one could hear a great work of music performed at that time when it was composed, with original instruments, the true tempo, the right acoustics, and the vanished practices of the musicians (fig. 0.1). St. Jacob's opens to the viewer's eye the intervals of space and harmonies of color which sculptors and painters composed to animate the place. Hundreds of art works remain in the settings for which they were designed. A glory of sacred objects, from altar crosses to bells, fills in the liturgy and ceremony of religion at a deeper level. And the complete archive of the church remains intact to document everything.

During the 17th century St. Jacob's established itself as the parish church of Antwerp's elite community. That group of wealthy and discerning patrons, in one of Europe's leading centers for art, carefully ornamented their church as a reflection of devotion, family heritage, and civic pride. Today St. Jacob's is a veritable museum of Flemish painting and sculpture. Two of Antwerp's finest painters, Peter Paul Rubens and Hendrik van Balen, decorated their own graves in St. Jacob's with pictures of extraordinary quality. Even more remarkably, successive generations of parishioners lovingly integrated these masterpieces into a decorative plan that unfolded as a beautiful communal work of art. St. Jacob's therefore exemplifies the history of Flemish art with an unrivalled richness of historical detail and variety.

In following the progress of the church's construction and decoration, this book combines social history, art history, and the history of religion as one and the same thing. I argue that a core group of Catholic laypeople in the city quickly identified St. Jacob's as one in a handful of key ecclesiastical institutions vital to the success of Antwerp's Counter Reformation. St. Jacob's lay administrators, the churchwardens, gathered the political power necessary



FIGURE 0.1 *View of St. Jacob's nave from west to east.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

to coordinate the enterprise of building and decoration as a dynamic process that participated in the active development of their community. The parish church, a site of potential conflict, consolidated itself instead as the most important public forum where Antwerp's leading citizens could display loyalty to the newly empowered Hapsburg State and adherence to the exclusive Catholic Church. Wealthy and patrician families participated in the religious life of the church to secure their places in the community. Here they erected their tombs to perpetuate memory, social position, and the record of dynastic marriages over generations. At the same time, the public sections of the church in the nave and aisles welcomed every individual among the diverse groups resident in the parish. This is where the many thousands received sacraments that marked the most significant events of their lives and embraced them in Catholic belief, from birth and baptism to death and burial. The spaces for these events were carefully arranged. St. Jacob's baptistery, confessionals, Sacrament Chapel, marriage choir, and pulpit, gave material form to the new doctrines and practices that the Council of Trent decreed in 1563. One finds here the best preserved and most splendid example of the Flemish Counter Reformation parish churches that mediated a vast process of change during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Between 1585 and 1794 the Counter Reformation Catholic Church transformed the society of the South Netherlands. During these two centuries the Church fabricated a new system of signs and ceremonies to unite the region in one exclusive faith. The stakes were raised by what had preceded and would follow these decisive bracketing dates. Before the Spanish army regained control for King Philip II in 1585, Antwerp and the other rebellious Calvinist republics of the Netherlands had methodically eradicated the material symbols and rituals of Catholic religion. Churches were emptied of images, the Catholic mass was prohibited, bells were silenced, and processions were banned from the streets. After 1794 the occupying government of the French Republic, more efficiently than the Calvinists, ruthlessly dismantled the new physical infrastructure that the Catholic Church had so painstakingly assembled during the two hundred years of its unquestioned dominance. In a few years at the end of the 18th century the French Revolution shattered the system of signs at the heart of Catholic belief.

A list of paintings returned from France to the new Museum of the City of Antwerp in 1816, after the defeat of Napoleon, immediately reveals the extent of the damage (fig. 0.2). The left-hand column indicates the churches from which the French had taken each picture, while the column on the right notes the current state of these churches. Nine masterpieces by Rubens and Van Dyck could not be returned to the Antwerp church of the Franciscan Recollects because “neither the church nor the convent of the Recollects exists any longer.”¹ The pictures ended up in the Museum where they remain, metamorphosed by history from sacred objects into works of art. In almost every case the list reports that “This church has been destroyed” or “This church no longer exists.”

Of more than forty churches and chapels that transformed Antwerp into the South Netherlands’ “most Catholic city,” impervious to ideological attack from outside or within, only five major churches remained standing in 1816.² All of them were stripped of their ornament or robbed of their archives, and then fundamentally altered in later years, except for one, the parish church of St. Jacob’s.

The very fact of its survival exalted the church in the eyes of conservative 19th-century Catholics who treasured it as a symbol of the Counter Reformation. This had become for them a lost “golden age.” A vigilant few consequently

1 RAA: Provinciaal Archief K449.

2 Prims 1951, for the number of churches in 18th-century Antwerp. The Cathedral, the former Dominican Church (turned into the parish church St. Paul’s), the former Jesuit Church devastated by the fire of 1718 (turned into the parish church of St. Charles Borromeo), the parish church of St. Andries, and the parish church of St. Jacob’s remained standing.

B

*Liste Des Tableaux recuperés sur la France
et réclamés par la Direction du Musée de la ville d'Anvers.*

<i>ville</i>	<i>église</i>	<i>N.° d'ordre</i>	<i>Désignation Des Tableaux</i>	<i>Observations.</i>
<i>Anvers</i>	<i>Eglise des Recollets</i>	1	<i>Le Christ entre les deux larrons. Rubens</i>	
		2	<i>Jesus Christ à la croix. Rubens</i>	<i>Ni l'église ni le convent</i>
		3	<i>Les petites descentes de croix. (copie) Rubens</i>	<i>des Crucifix n'exista plus</i>
		4	<i>S^t François recevant la communion. Rubens</i>	<i>nous espérons que sa</i>
		5	<i>L'épistaphe du Bourgeois de Roches. Rubens</i>	<i>Majesté accordera ces</i>
		6	<i>Le Portrait de Roches. Rubens</i>	<i>tableaux pour le Musée</i>
		7	<i>Le portrait de son épouse. Rubens</i>	<i>d'Anvers.</i>
		8	<i>Le corps mort de Christ déposé de la croix et descendu sur les genoux de sa mère. Van Dyck</i>	
		9	<i>Le portrait d'Alex. Strogliar (copie) Van Dyck</i>	
	<i>Eglise saint Augustin, succursale, Dominicain</i>	10	<i>S^c C. crucifié, S^c Rosalie embrassant la croix, S^c Dominique les bras étendus vers la croix. Van Dyck</i>	<i>Le tableau réclamé, en l'an 10 pour les Hospitaliers de l'Ordre de S^c Christ, n'a jamais été livré. Il a été conservé par la ville d'Anvers, et a été remis à la ville d'Anvers, le 10 Mars 1816.</i>
		11	<i>S^c C. à la croix, petit tableau qui a été retenu plusieurs fois. Van Dyck</i>	<i>Le tableau appartient à la ville d'Anvers, et a été remis à la ville d'Anvers, le 10 Mars 1816.</i>
	<i>Eglise des Cordeliers, succursale, Carmélite</i>	12	<i>L'Ascension de la croix. Rubens</i>	<i>Cette église est détruite</i>
		13	<i>Le miracle de S^c Jean et l'ange de la mort. Van Dyck</i>	
		14	<i>Les deux anges romains à cheval. Van Dyck</i>	
	<i>Eglise des Cordeliers, succursale, Carmélite</i>	15	<i>Le S^c Pierre le Christ est sur les genoux de Dieu le père. Rubens</i>	<i>Cette église est détruite</i>
		16	<i>S^c Anne désignant la Vierge, devant S^c Joseph. Rubens</i>	
		17	<i>L'apostrophe de S^c O. S^c Joseph. Rubens</i>	<i>Cette église est détruite</i>
	<i>Eglise de S^c Michel</i>	18	<i>L'adoration des mages. Rubens</i>	
		19	<i>L'épistaphe de la famille d'Anvers, représentant les architectes d'Anvers, con- versés par S^c Norbert. Devos.</i>	<i>Cette église n'existe plus</i>

FIGURE 0.2 List of paintings returned from Paris to the Antwerp Municipal Museum. 1816. RAA.

protected St. Jacob's against the changes that elsewhere fragmented much of what remained from 17th-century church interiors. One of those protectors in particular, Théodore van Lierus, published in 1855 his description of art in St. Jacob's, which remains the only scholarly account of the church's history.³ During the 20th century St. Jacob's suffered relatively minor damage from the bombardments of two world wars that destroyed so much of Belgium's cultural heritage. Finally, for the moment at least, St. Jacob's has escaped the reconfiguration of altars and the destruction of older decoration that followed on the liturgical reforms decreed by the Second Vatican Council concluded in 1965.

St. Jacob's is unique in another respect that directed the method of my book. One can find there a vast array of the material symbols and objects that every church assembled to practice the Catholic religion.⁴ No 20th-century definition of art can encompass such diversity. Paintings, pipe organs, sculptures, sacred vessels, priestly vestments, liturgical books, reliquaries, bells, devotional prints, confessionals, pulpits, stained glass windows, roodscreens, wreaths of artificial flowers, marble fences, embroidered banners, tombstones, and checkered pavements configured the experiences of all who entered the hundreds of churches built, repaired, and decorated throughout the land during the Counter Reformation. Many of these things survive in St. Jacob's, waiting to be woven into a history of the people and institutions who used them, along with the masterpieces that glorify the church.

Art played an acknowledged role in the church and stands at the center of this book. 18th-century visitors praised St. Jacob's as the most beautiful church in the city. Guidebooks pointed out its superb masterpieces of painting, sculpture, and stained glass. A few precious unpublished sources record the terms and principles of design that gave a particular order to the interior, and it is within the framework of these concepts that I will write a history of the decoration.

But this book is not a history of masterpieces produced for St. Jacob's. Instead it builds on the unique combination of documents and surviving works in place to restore art as part of a larger network of signs and material symbols inside which the parish community formed its identities over the duration of centuries. Art in this church was not an illustration or a sidebar to more important events, nor was it an accumulation of works by famous masters that could just as well be cataloged for their individual qualities and hung in a museum.

3 Van Lierus 1855. Boni n.d. (c.1956) offers a more popular and anecdotal view.

4 See the economics of this demand analyzed in Goldthwaite 1993.

Recent work by historians and art historians has pointed in the directions that I could take. Their studies apply new methods to understand how buildings and symbolic objects were used during the Counter Reformation to generate belief, pattern social relationships, and change behavior.⁵ At the same time, I do not share the assumption that art for religion served merely to represent wealth and power, although it surely accomplished that end. Instead I take the spiritual motives of religion in good faith.⁶

I also draw from the abundant store of specialized knowledge gathered in art history monographs that concentrate on distinct kinds of church furnishings and sacred objects. Each of these separate types—rood screens, altar retables, confessionals, and so on—has its own history.⁷ St. Jacob's decoration integrated successive generations of these works into a changing pattern of unified designs. In what follows, I have traced the complex relationships that knitted them together.

No history of a church accomplishes the unifying synthesis that I aim at in this book. St. Jacob's thrived as the collective enterprise of its community that gradually perfected what now possesses a harmonious beauty, as if it had been conceived and fashioned all in an instant. In fact no single architect or patron determined the plan, and the work was accomplished only gradually. Instead of one creator, thousands of men and women contributed individually and in groups to build and ornament their church. Contributions flowed from wealthy donors, thousands of confraternity members, parish-wide collections, petitioners for the intercession of saints and images, neighborhood associations that banded together in the poor streets. Merchants and masons gathered to plan each new major addition to their church. All these actions drew the community closer to St. Jacob's. But their attachment never came easily or without struggle. It happened only slowly and in the face of crises that threatened the very existence of the church. The poor were neglected when it was necessary for survival to attract support from the rich. Fervent devotion

5 Thijs 1990, 1993, 1994; Torre 1992, on parish churches in Lombardy; De Boer 2001, on the "archaeology" of confessionals; Hills 2004, on female convents in Naples; Strasser 2004, on images and processions in Munich; Timmermans 2006, on elite patronage networks in Antwerp; Thøfner 2007, on the effect of triumphal processions in Brussels and Antwerp.

6 An anthropologist's viewpoint, which I learned from Jean-Claude Galey in his 'Politiques de conversion et conversion au politique. L'Inde des jésuites et de l'histoire,' unpublished review of Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India*, Oxford and New Delhi, 1999.

7 Steppe 1952 and more recently Jung 2006 on rood screens; Zajadacj-Hastenrath 1970 on confessionals; Becker 1990 and Herremans 2006–2007 on altar retables; Baisier 2008 on perspective paintings of Flemish churches as documentary sources.

of all kinds did not generate by accident or spontaneously. It was, as I intend to show, the carefully cultivated fruit of the Counter Reformation Catholic Church's ultimate goal, decreed by the Council of Trent, to build a network of parishes where the faithful would encounter their God through the material symbols that they themselves had chosen and paid for. All construction and ornament emerged through that intensifying mutual reinforcement between the needs of the local community in all its diversity and the pressure exerted from above by the universal Church.

This was not an impersonal or abstract process. It developed through the choices that defined the relationships between parishioners and their church. How, for example, did St. Jacob's balance the demands of competing private interests and its purpose as the parish church of the whole community? The answer I propose is rooted not only in the politics of the city and its partnership with the Catholic Church, but also in the use of a particular set of architectural and artistic principles that could be employed to guide a symbolic politics of design through which unity could be forged. At a make or break point of crisis, the competitive drive of powerful families and interests could be channeled through a calculated strategy of decoration to magnify the overwhelming splendor of St. Jacob's that outshone the other churches of Antwerp. My analysis therefore operates on parish, citywide, regional, and international levels. It is no contradiction that the changes in St. Jacob's could develop out of reforms imposed by Rome from above, and from grassroots needs of the community below.

My account of a politics of style implemented through the church's ornament depends on the sources I have already mentioned. At the same time I will show how the works of art commissioned for the church interacted with the sites for which they were made. Each new painting or sculpture helped to shape and alter the field of sight through calculated perspectives, manipulations of relative scale, directions for the fall of light, responses to other works, variations in color, and integration into the larger, defining patterns of decoration. Removed from these locations, they would be diminished, and the church would be deadened. Theodoor Boyermans' 1670 *Assumption of the Virgin* for example is animated within the right-hand altar of the monumental rood-screen for which it was painted. (fig. 0.3)

Boyermans' picture deftly catches the red, black, and white marble tinctures and the swirling movement of its architectural frame. It also points upward to the white marble bust of the grieving Virgin above it. That bust of Mary inclines towards her counterpart of Christ as Man of Sorrows, matching her over the left-hand altar. Christ as Man of Sorrows originally surmounted a *Resurrection of Christ*, also by Boyermans, that duplicated the *Assumption's*



FIGURE 0.3 *Theodoor Boyermans. Assumption of the Virgin. 1670. South altar of roodscreen.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

upward movement and celebration of Christian triumph over death. Design and symbol enliven the heart of the church.

It does not follow from my attention to collective enterprise, in which so many people explicitly and tacitly recognized the spirit of the place, that I would ignore the work of individual artists. To the contrary, I have sought out those instances when artists created works for St. Jacob's that expressed personal devotion, attained supreme artistry, and commemorated their own virtues in sites close to where they lay buried and would rise at the resurrection. For my purpose, I devote attention to these great works of art not only for their beauty, but also because they add to the handful of sources in which the individual voices of parishioners articulate their motives for decorating the church.

Recently Judith Pollmann has amplified the voices of individual Catholics, recorded in diaries and chronicles, to chart the gradual emergence of a more sharply defined Catholic identity during the first decades of the 17th century in the South Netherlands.⁸ This new historical source of testimony supports the conclusion that Catholic laypeople, especially the powerful elite, collaborated actively with priests to revive their Church after the Calvinist incursion that lasted to 1585. My account of St. Jacob's confirms that argument. But what happened at St. Jacob's produces a very different record of the revival's pace, the causes and conditions behind its success, and the dynamics of agency that set it into motion and then accelerated its momentum.

After 1585 it took decades for St. Jacob's even to complete its own construction, and this was the wealthiest parish church in Antwerp, the city where the Catholic Church had invested its cultural and financial capital most heavily. I will document this slow recovery and the varied constituencies that contributed, some freely and others under pressure from the Hapsburg State and city Magistracy (burgomasters and aldermen), purged of Calvinists. There was, after all, no single uniform Catholic identity, but rather a wide range of motives, from profound devotion to expediency, that convinced people to participate. But in all cases individuals could act to support their parish church only through the structures provided by the several institutions that constituted St. Jacob's administrative body and spiritual life.

8 Pollmann 2011.

For that reason, my book presents a history of Counter Reformation art written in separate chapters about the real institutions of the Church and based on their archives.⁹ I will show the reader how St. Jacob's evolved into a complex of institutions that worked together and sometimes at odds; a parish church that gradually embraced separately—incorporated chapels belonging to families and guilds, eighteen brotherhoods of the most diverse sort, and a collegiate chapter of canons established when this type of late-medieval ecclesiastical corporation had for the most part reached the end of its run. Every kind of parishioner, from crypto-Jewish Portuguese bankers to poor widows living in the mean streets, was included in this family of institutions. And many of these groups carried their rites and ceremonies outside of the church into the parish streets where they used images and a carapace of ritual objects to sanctify the worldly space around them. By framing my account of art, architecture, and material symbols within the institutions that used them all, I recognize the actions of the individuals who participated and the purposes that united them.

This approach confirms that the success of the Counter Reformation in Antwerp depended on founding institutions to embrace the wealthiest and most powerful first, and then afterwards to include a wider range of the urban population. These institutions opened many paths through which parishioners could reach their personal, local, and communal goals, and at the same time conform to the demands that the universal Catholic Church generated from the top down. That accommodation between purpose from within and impetus from above runs through the choices that produced the decoration of St. Jacob's, whether the confessionals newly designed to reconfigure the sacrament of penance or private chapel retables maintained by guilds. The development of a self-regulating system of balanced interests could have occurred only inside the monopoly on religion and the stable politics granted by the Catholic Hapsburg State. Once that condition proved its long-term viability, people could use it as their frame of reference. Yes, some grassroots institutions pushed up on their own in St. Jacob's; the Blessed Sacrament Chapel from its inception in 1554, the Chapel of the Holy Cross decorated by a fervent supporter of Church and State in 1605, the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lighting founded as a sort of volunteer fire brigade in the 18th century by the artisans who maintained St. Jacob's and united to protect the source of their livelihood. Otherwise, the parish, the collegiate chapter, the chapels, confraternities, and image cults all grew from seeds planted by outside hands; by the bishop of Antwerp, coalitions of patricians who sought to strengthen

9 Therefore based on the model introduced by Lottin 1984, to describe the implementation of the Counter Reformation in a major city of the South Netherlands.

the Counter Reformation in their city and depended on the Hapsburg State for their power and wealth, the Jesuits who disseminated prayers and cults of saints, the Archdiocese of Mechelen that legislated the proper ministration of the sacraments, the city Magistracy that mandated the restoration of churches and altars, the government of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in Brussels that secured the finances for repairing and completing churches, the citywide Sunday schools that educated generations of Catholic children in their faith, the seminary that trained competent and dedicated parish priests. This enclosing self-sufficient community of belief, founded on the shared signs of the Church, thrived in St. Jacob's, and grew strong enough to persist tenaciously even after the support of the State had dropped away during the 18th century.

In the first nine chapters of the book I reconstruct how these different institutions from parish to confraternities, built and decorated the church as a formative part of their histories. Because no previous histories have been written about the growth of individual parishes, chapters of canons, "great" chapels devoted to the Eucharist and Mary, or confraternities in early modern Antwerp, my research begins to fill that need. But my primary interest is to demonstrate how architecture, art, and material culture were formative to the institutions and to the whole process of Counter Reformation conversion. The first three chapters present a chronological history of construction and decoration for the parish, and it is here that I give successive overviews of the church's state of completion and decoration at different, decisive points in time. Chapter 4 turns to new arrangements for the sacraments of baptism and penance which parishioners received in their church. Communion and holy matrimony follow next in the chapter I devote to the "great chapel" of the Blessed Sacrament where these two sacraments were housed in the single most dynamic and fervent institution throughout the history of the church. The matching "great chapel" dedicated to the Virgin Mary is contrasted in chapter 6 with its mate, the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, for the tentative and halting search that the Our Lady Chapel made to find a sacred image on which it could focus devotion. Chapter 7 introduces the new collegiate chapter of canons, installed in 1657, into their new choir space that they transformed as the inner sanctum of a privileged group distinctive of the place and time where it formed. Chapter 8 brings together the guilds, families, and brotherhoods who occupied and ornamented the nineteen private chapels that by 1656 bordered the whole periphery of the church in an arrangement unique to Antwerp and defining for St. Jacob's. In Chapter 9 on confraternities I have dug deeper to document a repertoire of the artworks and ritual objects on which these groups based their collective identities and practices. The final two chapters shift to thematic views that once again incorporate the whole church. Chapter 10 locates the

place of death in St. Jacob's and analyzes how commemoration fixed the local history of the community and protected it against the threats of obliteration. Chapter 11 follows the church's struggle during the 18th century to defend what it had built against the accelerating attacks of Enlightenment and Revolution, when the State became an enemy instead of an ally, and Antwerp, through the success of the Counter Reformation had been transformed into the "most Catholic city" of the Netherlands.

St. Jacob's Parish and Construction of the Church: 1491–1780

1.1 The Parish

On November 29, 1588, the six churchwardens and pastor of St. Jacob's Church in Antwerp walked through their parish collecting donations. They asked for support to repair the church's transept and tear down what they called the "sea-beggars' walls." Calvinists, or "sea-beggars," who governed the city from 1580 to 1585, had ordered construction of the partitions to implement what was in 1580 a policy of tolerant co-existence. Protestants would hear the word of God preached in the nave, and Catholics could celebrate their mass in the transept (the choir not yet complete), one space divided from the other. But the Calvinists quickly imposed their own brand of repression and forbade the Catholic mass for which the transept had been reserved.¹

Although the Spanish army in the name of King Philip II had taken Antwerp back from the Calvinist rebels in August 1585 and restored Catholicism there as the exclusive faith, it took three years before, in 1588, the first signs of a thriving

1 RAAKASJA R.6, f.7v: "Anderen ontfanck van tgeene metter schalen Int ommegaen gehaelt dede ontfangen wordt:" November 29, 1588, ommegaen (procession) conducted by Dercke van Werve and Janne Papen upper churchwardens, four churchwardens, pastor, for the purpose of "de reparatie van het cruyswerck & tot het affbreken van drye guese mueren also bevonden ontfangen te hebben comptant inde parochie & daeromtrent mits datter de goede lieden naer gebrocht hebben de welke belooft hadden wat te geven blycken by den belette daer affwesende tsamen sy alles ontgaen dryehondert sevenendertig guldens acht stuyvers" (337 guilders 8 stijvers).

RAAKASJA 36, f.46r–v., contract of July 29, 1587, with mason Philips de Craeyer, requires him to remove additions, whitewash pillars, and restore everything to its previous condition, his payment in the form of the material from the dismantled walls (guesse mueren).

RAAKASJA 56–58: Beginsel ende Voortsganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen (possible date of 1732: see 57: f.209); RAAKASJA 56, f.79r: 1580: "Mijne Heeren van het Magistraet hebben geordonneert ten eynde de Kercke van St. Jacobs soudén worden geseparaert in den beuck tot het Cruijswerck verleent hebbende aen die Pretense gereformeerden laetende het Cruijswerck voor de Roomsche Catholiecken met belofte van te besorgen dat den hoogen Choor aenstont soude worden voltrocken Actum 12 gber."

local religion began to spring up in St. Jacob's Parish.² Churchwardens and pastor encountered a neighbourhood shaped by a particular history within the city, but also radically transformed through the religious, political, and economic revolutions that, since 1566, had overturned all the certainties of life in their parish and throughout the Netherlands.

Originating in a chapel and pilgrim's hospice named for the patron saint of pilgrims and of Spain (St. James Major), St. Jacob's was one of the four new parishes created in Antwerp between 1477–1479 to meet the spiritual needs of the burgeoning population.³ Its location in the city, incorporating the eastern part of the wealthy center and the more sparsely settled northeast corner, imprinted on the parish a distinctive and lasting character (figs. 1.1–1.2). The new Bourse—opened in 1531 close to the church, but not inside its parish boundaries—anchored a network of streets where the wealthiest merchants of the metropolis built their houses.⁴ Reflecting the international diversity of Antwerp's commercial life, many of these families belonged to Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, and English merchant colonies, the so-called “nations” resident in the city. Living alongside urban patricians and nobles, the foreign merchants lent St. Jacob's a special status as the parish church of Antwerp's elite. Professionals and skilled artisans who worked for the rich also settled thickly in the area. Notaries bought more modest houses on the side-streets leading to the Bourse, and, in the greatest art city of Northern Europe, eminent artists such as Rubens, Hendrik van Balen, Jan Brueghel the Elder, and Artus Quellinus the Younger moved into the parish close to their patrons.⁵ Along with these prosperous citizens inhabiting its center, impoverished workers rented dwellings in the more peripheral Cauwenbergh and Ossenmarkt strips of the precinct.⁶

2 Prims 1982, VI-A, 131–135.

3 Prims 1982, VI-B, 485. A chapel dedicated to the saint was consecrated as a parish church on March 1, 1478: Prims 1982, v; Van den Nieuwenhuizen 1983, 24.

4 Baetens 1976, I, 279–280, and map, inside II, with color-coded indications of poor and wealthy streets; Timmermans 1998, 162, reproduction of Baetens' map showing in addition concentrations of high rent houses belonging to 60 magistrates, based on documents from 1659, 1667, 1689.

5 Baetens 1976, I, 280, for the cluster of notaries in the side streets around the Bourse.

6 Baetens 1976, I, 279 and II, map, for the Cauwenbergh. 160, RAAKASJA 2797, *Actorum Capituli Liber I*, Dec. 1656–Aug. 1675, 36–77, exchange of letters and charges between St. Jacob's and the Jesuit Fathers: 43: the Jesuits point out the need to care for the sick “int quartier vande osse merckt, Cauwenberghe, etc.,” where many poor people live.



FIGURE 1.1 Antverpia constructionis eius primordia et incrementa, *Map of Antwerp*, in Jacob Le Roy, *Notitia Marchionatus Sacri Romani Imperii*, Amsterdam, 1678, 1, engraving and etching, with boundaries of St. Jacob's Parish indicated in red.

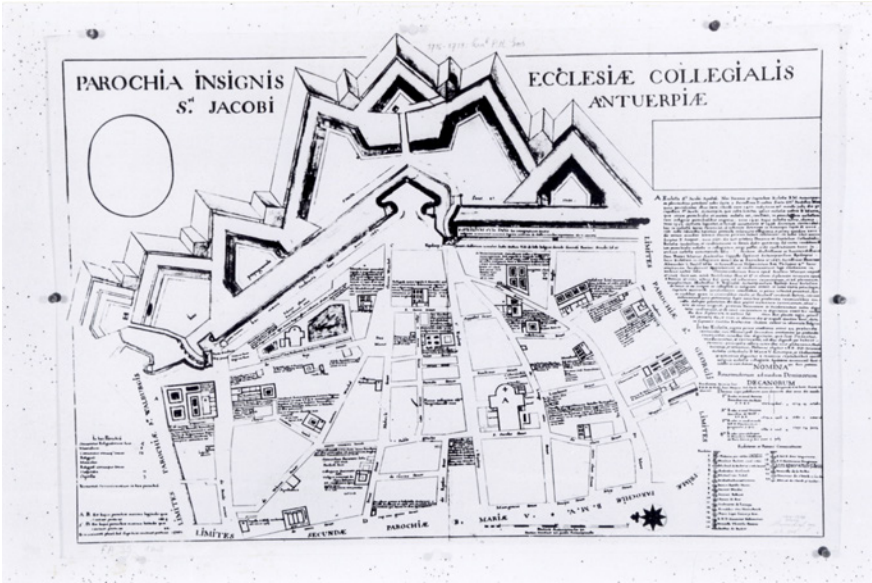


FIGURE 1.2 Canon P.H. Goos (of St. Jacob's). *St. Jacob's Parish*. 1716. FAA 35/1 van 6: 1727.

Three broad arteries ran through the neighbourhood, starting west, at the heart of the city, and ending at the fortified walls, on the eastern boundary.⁷ Along these streets—the Meir, the Langenieuwestr., and the Kipdorp—merchants and nobles occupied their grand houses close to the church. On either side of this densely populated core, roughly equivalent to the eleventh administrative district of the city, land opened up, in the tenth district on the south, and in the twelfth district to the north. Attracted by low costs and proximity to the center, thirteen independent convents and religious communities established themselves at the peripheries of St. Jacob's parish—the Beguines, English Discalced Carmelites, and Jesuit College among them—equalling in total all the monasteries of the other parishes combined.⁸ Seven of these entered the city after 1585, and introduced a variety of new elements into parish life. For the same reasons St. Jacob's parish also accommodated the greatest number of religious charitable foundations in the city—so-called “houses of God”—intended to shelter select groups of the poor, as in the Knechtenhuis for orphan boys or the Nieu S. Anna Godshuis (New St. Anne's Alms House) established by Simon Rodrigues d'Evora on behalf of destitute Portuguese women.⁹

7 The borders of Antwerp's parishes are superimposed on the map from Baetens 1976, 11, by Marinus 1995, 298. St. Jacob's parish occupies the northeast quarter of the city. East: city wall from the Roy Poort at the north, to Het Hoplandt; South: Het Hoplandt begins the south border, extending west into the Schuttershof Str. up to the west side of the Wapper; West: border cuts diagonally from the S.W. corner of the Wapper, N.W. across grounds of the Carmelite Monastery to the Meir, then north through the Pruym Str., jogging across the Langenieuwe Str. into the Margrave Str., Pand van Lier, Capel van Gratie Str., Venus Str., crossing the Paardenmarkt and stopping at the Streysel Ruyse; North: Streysel Ruyse to the wall just north of the Roy Poort. See for the primary source: FAA iconografie, 2de zaal, lade 27, maps of kanunnik P.H. Goos with areas and borders of the parishes.

8 Monasteries, religious colleges, charitable institutions, and chapels in the St. Jacob's Parish as marked in Marinus 1995, 298: map; also see Marinus 1995, 37; Prims 1984, VII, 439: notes by canon P.H. Goos, 1716–1718: St. Jacob's Parish: 5 male and 8 female cloisters; 5 godshuizen, 4 chapels; significantly more monasteries in comparison with other parishes: Cathedral South Quarter, 5 monasteries; Cathedral North Quarter, 3 monasteries; St. Walburgis, 3 monasteries; St. Andries, 2 monasteries: Monasteries in St. Jacob's Parish: Nonnekens van Westmalle—new (after 1585); Beguines—old; Capuchins [in N.E. corner near to the Cauwenberch]—new; Annuntiates—new; Ierse College—new; Jesuit College on Prince Str.—new; Alexiens—old; Celrebroeders—old; Minims—new; English Teresians—new; Clarissen—old; plus one more close to the Kipdorp Gate [Victorinnen Ternoennen]. For the median rental value of houses per district in 1667 see Baetens 1976 I, 399.

9 Marinus 1995, 37–38, and “liefdadigheidsinstellingen” marked on the map, 298: those identifiable in the St. Jacob's parish are: Knechtenshuis [Paardenmarkt], S. Blasius [de Roey Str.], Alme Huis [Paardenmarkt], Peeter van Dal Godshuis [cleyn S. Anna Str.], Vijf minoen

The Bourse and St. Jacob's organized the worldly and sacred poles of the wealthy neighbourhood. Other public institutions also set the architectural pattern for important parish streets. Even today, Wenzel Cobergher's palatial headquarters for the Antwerp branch of the Mount of Piety, a national loan bank in aid of economic reconstruction, anchors the Venusstr. that traced the northwest parish border, in an unbroken line of noble and austere facades along the east side of the street, conveying its Italianate 17th-century character when it signalled one of the most exclusive addresses in the city (fig. 1.3).¹⁰

By November 1588, when the pastor and churchwardens toured the parish, the tally of inhabitants there, and throughout the city, had declined precipitously.¹¹ Antwerp numbered 80,000 when the Spanish seized power in 1585. Four years later in 1589 only 42,000 remained, the rest driven away by the new Dutch blockade of the Schelde that sent trade packing and by the ultimatum issued from the central government of Duke Alessandro Farnese, forcing Protestants to choose between Catholic faith and exile.¹² In 1582 20,749 people were crowded into St. Jacob's parish. Only 12,500 stayed behind in 1589.

By 1591 a modest recovery was underway, supported by the influx of Catholics who had left during the Calvinist regime and now felt secure enough to return.¹³ As the city's population inched back up to 46,000, St. Jacob's briefly surpassed the other parishes in Antwerp. Its census of 14,500 souls even exceeded the two centrally located and normally more densely settled Cathedral North and Cathedral South precincts. Although never close to its 16th-century peak, the city's population as a whole did increase gradually during the 17th century. But St. Jacob's parish actually declined after its spike in 1591, and by 1645 settled to around 12,000.

Godshuis [Jezus Str.], Nieu S. Anna Godshuis [Vuylnis Str.], OLV van Loreto Godshuis [Langenieuwe Str.], S. Barbara Godshuis [Langenieuwe Str.], Godshuis van Gratie [and chapel: corner of Prince Str. and Kapel van Gratie Str.]. Most of these charitable houses were scattered along the east and north peripheries of the parish. For the Nieu S. Anna Godshuis in particular see Prims 1982, VI-B, illustration 974, with reference to P. Génard, *Anvers à travers les âges*, I, 401; Baetens 1976, I, 226, n.428.

10 Baetens 1976, I, 274, 279–280; II, 37, in 1645; Timmermans 1998, 162, on the Venusstr.

11 Marinus 1995, 19, Afb.1, uses a graph to chart the number of inhabitants per parish between 1582–1645. She bases these figures on rough estimates derived from demographic statistics available for the administrative districts of the city [wijken] that coincide more or less with the territories of the parishes.

12 These citywide figures depend on R. Boumans 1948, 1683–1693. Thijs 1990, 34–40, gives the best analytical account of the emigration.

13 Thijs 1990, 41, citing the explanation given by Antwerp's bishop, Torrentius.



FIGURE 1.3 *Venusstr. with Berg van Barmhertigheid building, designed by Wenzel Cobergher.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

TABLE 1.1 *Population of St. Jacob's Parish compiled from statistics available for the three administrative districts roughly coinciding with the parish.*¹⁴

Districts	1568	1582	1586	1591	1612	1645
10	7,529	6,735			4,021	3,660
11	7,234	7,350			4,996	4,933
12	7,164	6,664			4,024	3,434
	21,927	20,749	12,500	4,500	13,041	12,027

14 1568 from figures given by C. Scribani 1610, 73, reported in Boumans 1948, 1688, n.46; 1582 from Boumans 1948, 1691, Bijlage A; 1586 from Marinus 1995, 19, Afb.1; 1591 from Marinus 1995, 19, Afb.1; 1612 from Boumans 1948, 1692, Bijlage B; 1645 from Boumans 1948, 1692, Bijlage C.

Despite the decline in numbers, parishioners banded together during the 17th century and devoted enormous effort to transforming their church into the city's most beautiful. In fact, only the two peripheral districts of St. Jacob's parish lost significant population. The central, eleventh district retained its exclusive status, maintaining the largest proportion of owner occupied homes in the city.¹⁵ During the 17th century the interlocking elite of this neighbourhood would fashion their parish church so magnificently that it would attract outsiders eager to bask in the reflected glory. It would however be a terrible impoverishment to include in the history of the church only the rich who paid for this splendor, around 2.5% of Antwerp's population in 1667, or the additional one tenth who comprised the bourgeoisie. Varied sources allow for the fragmentary inclusion as well of the good third who eked out a subsistence living in the city, and the quarter who joined a solid middle class by owning their own houses.¹⁶

1.2 Pastor and Churchwardens: Key Officers of the Parish Church

Churchwardens and pastor, who walked through the parish in 1588, held decisive power. Spiritual shepherd of his flock and minister of the saving sacraments, the parish priest was, ideally, well educated, a skilled preacher, resident among his sheep, an example to them, and actively concerned for their well being.¹⁷ Pastors, in the design of institutional reform drawn up by the Council of Trent (closed 1563), presented the face of the Catholic Church that the laity would behold and come to trust. But in the South Netherlands after the Spanish conquest of 1585 the secular clergy (those not bound to the rules of a regular order) were judged too few and poorly trained to accomplish the huge task of education, persuasion, and conversion necessary to restore the faith. Jesuits, Capuchins, and other highly disciplined teaching-preaching regular orders entered to do that work. Gradually, through the foundation of seminaries, assertion of episcopal oversight, implementation of reforms, and competitions to fill vacancies, the parish priests of Antwerp attained to the new standards set by the Council of Trent.¹⁸

15 Baetens 1976, I, 277, n.19.

16 Baetens 1976, I, 277, for an estimate of the numbers of people belonging to each economic class of the city in 1667.

17 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 139, Twenty-First Session, Decree Concerning Reform, Chapter VI; 164, Twenty-Third Session, Decree Concerning Reform, Chapter I; 195, Twenty-Fourth Session, Decree Concerning Reform, Chapter IV.

18 See Marinus 1995, 124–152, on the pastors of Counter Reformation Antwerp.

St. Jacob's followed that progression. After the Spanish conquest pious Stephanus Langritius (1534–1597) returned from exile to serve as pastor between 1585 and 1597.¹⁹ Langritius may have performed his duties faithfully, but his impact on the church was slight in comparison with the achievement of his successor, Franciscus van den Bossche (pastor 1640–1674) (fig. 1.4). Van den Bossche, learned, eloquent, charitable, and politic, was the perfect Counter Reformation Priest. He won his position through a competition run by the Antwerp Cathedral Chapter. During his long tenure the pastor actively promoted St. Jacob's interests, expanded its institutions, fostered construction, strengthened finances, and, at least according to the testimony on the commemorative portrait of him commissioned by the church, cared for the poor.²⁰

The churchwardens who accompanied Langritius in 1588 mediated between city, parish, and church. Laymen drawn from the community, they directed finances, construction, decoration, and apportionment of space in the church. The churchwardens developed a coherent plan for construction and decoration that they implemented gradually, over successive generations. At St. Jacob's the two upper churchwardens, always aldermen or former aldermen and appointed directly by the city government, represented the most powerful families. They linked the church with those in control of Antwerp's politics and economy.²¹ Members of one aristocratic family, Van Halmale, who also served long terms as burgomasters of the city, occupied the office from 1641–1660 and 1706–1732.²²

Below the upper churchwardens, four regular churchwardens drawn from the parish's network of wealthy merchants, served as the actual administrators of the church. They would elect new colleagues each year, in consultation with the pastor and contingent on approval by the city, to replace those whose four-year terms had expired. Each new churchwarden swore not to undertake any new construction without consent of the burgomasters and aldermen of Antwerp—the combined executive and legislative bodies of government.

19 Bijsterveld 2005 (with thanks to Katlijne van der Stighelen for this reference).

20 See Van Lerius in Génard 1887, XLVI–XLVIII.

21 In 1588, for example, the upper churchwardens were Jan de Pape, an alderman, and Derck van de Werve, dean of the Antwerp Cloth Guild, and member of a patrician family: Prims 1982, VI-A, 185 on De Pape, and 197 on Van de Werve; also Baetens 1976, I, 305 on the Van de Werve family. On the position of upper churchwarden within the city government see Van Acker 1989, 13–14; Vroom 1983, 25, on the upper churchwardens of the Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, who also were consistently members of the city government.

22 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/13: Kerkmeesters / Heilige Geestmeesters.



FIGURE 1.4 *Frans Goubau. Portrait of Pastor Franciscus van den Bossche. Signed at the bottom left of the tablecloth: Fran. Goubau F. ANo. 1657.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

They promised to invest church income in the most profitable ways, and to submit the annual accounts of the church to the city for inspection.²³ When internal conflicts did arise, the churchwardens, who worked for the community, prevailed over the will of the parish priest. This may have been true in particular of the wealthy St. Jacob's parish where the churchwardens paid most of the pastor's salary, unlike the other city parishes where the priests received the greater part of their income from the Cathedral Chapter.²⁴ In the persons of the churchwardens the urban elite participated directly in the administration of parish churches and laid the foundation for the successful implementation of the Counter Reformation in Antwerp, supplying a crucial force of social and economic power, often ignored in histories that concentrate mostly on the role of clerics.²⁵

The complete run of the churchwardens' annual accounts in St. Jacob's archive yields the single richest source for a long-term history of the building and its decoration. Accounts document conception and finance of new projects, the rise and fall of community support, an annual cycle of sacred feasts, routine employment of the musicians, bell-ringers, sculptors, coppersmiths, and artisans of all kinds, who brought the church to life. All the material things used in worship also are included, from candles to communion wafers. A triumphant voice makes itself heard even in lists of income and expenses. The churchwardens expressed faith in a divinely inspired community that miraculously overcame seemingly insurmountable obstacles. But in 1588 the most pressing need was to build the church, to complete what had been started almost a century earlier.

23 RAAKASJA 51: Beginsel der kerk/ resolutien rubrieken der kerkmeesters 1677–1802: Part 3: Boek genaemd den Ouden Hagens inhoudende rubrieken en resolutien der Kerkmeesters enz., 1677–1770: Memoriael Boeck voor de kerckmeesters vande Collegiale ende prochiale kercke van Sinte Jacopos al hier tot Antwerpen begonst door G. van den Graef 1677, f.4r, Memoriael aenteckeninghe van Adriano Goyvaertsen vanden Graef vant' kerckmeesterschap der kercke van Sinte Jacops in Antwerpen A 1676, recounts process of election and oath of office. See Lottin 1984, 62, for an account of the office of churchwarden in 17th-century Lille.

24 See Marinus 1995, 133–137, on the income of Antwerp's pastors. By 1591–1593 the pastor of St. Jacob's received 148 guilders per annum for "living expenses": RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1591–1593, f.24v.

25 Timmermans 2008, 134–137.

1.3 Origins and Construction to 1525

Construction of St. Jacob's progressed in stops and starts that depended on the wider religious history of Antwerp and of the region (figs. 1.5–1.6). Work commenced in 1491 on the massive West tower, directed by Herman Waghmakere II, master of works at the Church of Our Lady (the future Cathedral) since 1473.²⁶ In 1496–1497 the same master Herman designed a plan for the whole church.²⁷ After his death in 1503 a committee, including Herman's son Dominicus, and "other good men," met several times to perfect a model for the first seven nave chapels.²⁸ Five chapels were under construction that same year, and when it is taken into account that the keystone of the St. Anna Chapel, sixth on the south side, was set in place in 1507, then it is likely that the seven oldest chapels flank that side of the nave.²⁹

By 1505 a start had been made on the nave as well, and a functioning choir was in place.³⁰ Activity peaked during the next two decades. One of the transept piers went up in 1516.³¹ In 1517 the nave was finished enough to install a pulpit or pew around one of its pillars.³² The Chapel of St. Dymphna, fourth in from the west on the north aisle, was complete by 1515. And the presence of nineteen altars in 1525 suggests that by then the twelve side chapels, parts of the transept, and the three-aisled nave up to the height of the pseudo-triforium, just below the clerestory, had been completed and covered by a

26 RAAKASJA R.1., June 24, 1491–23 June 1492: paid to "meester Hermanne van zijnen jaerloene 5 lb. gr." Also paid to master mason "Dieric de Coffermaker van zijnen jaerloene 2 lb. 10 s." The best account remains Van Lerius 1855, 2–10; also see De Barsee 1975, 366; Vroom 1983, 106–107.

27 RAAKASJA R.1., June 24, 1496–June 23, 1497: paid "van den berdde daer tbeworp is op beworppen 2 s. 6 d. Item bet. Heyndericke den schildere van den selve te beworpene 20s.

28 RAAKASJA R.2., 24 June 1503–23 June 1504: paid for "vijf reysen te vergaderen, Spilleman, Vekeman, Dominicus ende andere goede mannen om te besteden dat hout ende oic beworp te maken van den 7 capellen, ende doen besteet was tsamen 21 s. 6 d."

29 RAAKASJA R.2., June 24, 1503–June 23, 1504: payment to Peter Teels, carpenter for delivery of timber "te maken van de vijf cappellen." Dec. 24, 1507: paid for "enen sluytsteen in Sint Annen capelle [keystone]; also for a "sluytsteen" in the "Sacraments capelle."

30 RAAKASJA R.2., June 24, 1505–Dec. 24, 1505: payment for wood to construct the nave; payment for guarding the choir at night over a period of sixteen weeks.

31 RAAKASJA R.2., Dec. 25, 1515–Dec. 24, 1516: payment for work on the "cruyswerck" of the church, for "den grooten cruys piler;"

32 RAAKASJA R.2., Dec. 25, 1516–Dec. 24, 1517: paid for "tgestoelte dat gemacht om eenen ronden pyler in de bueck van de kercke, Gherdt die Bochmaker 6 lb."



FIGURE 1.5 *West tower, St. Jacob's Church.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

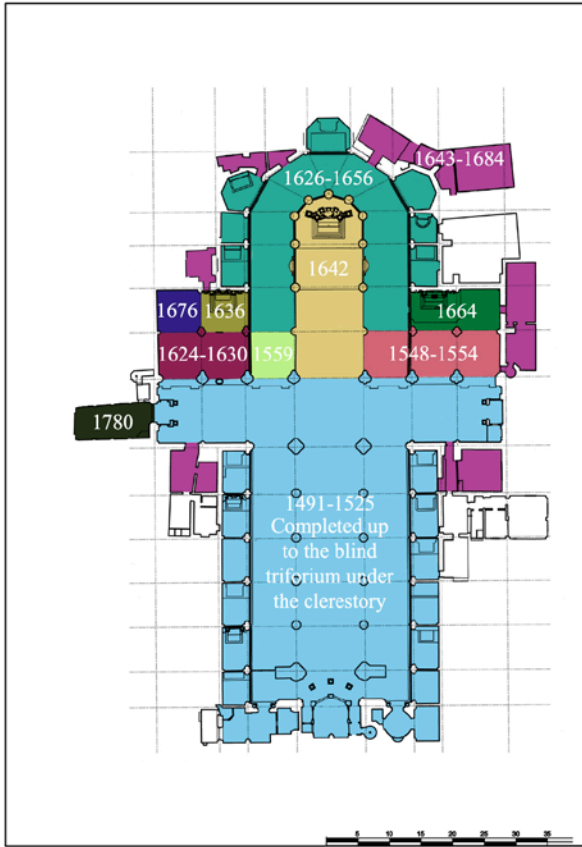


FIGURE 1.6 *Plan of the church color-coded to indicate stages of construction. Plan: Studiegroep Omgeving. SUPERIMPOSED COMPUTER GRAPHICS: ANANDAN AMIRTHANAYAGAM.*

low, temporary roof.³³ Simultaneously the west tower rose quickly to its present height. Masons put in long and steady hours to finish the belfry from which bells rang out over the parish for the first time on June 8, 1526.³⁴

33 RAAKASJA R.2., Kerkrekening, Dec. 25, 1524–Dec. 24, 1525: RAAKASJA R.2, Dec. 25, 1515–Dec. 24, 1516, Dominicus Waghmakere is paid for work including the placement of pillars “in den nyeuwen coer,” 28: for capitals standing “voer den hogen outaer.”

34 RAAKASJA R.2., separate lists of payments in 1522 and 1524 for materials and workers for building the tower. See Van Langendonck 1987 for the relationship of St. Jacob's west tower to other towers constructed during the late 15th century.

After he succeeded his father in 1503, Dominicus Waghmakere remained in charge of construction, assisted by his brother Herman during 1513, and joined in 1525 by “meester Rombout” Keldermans.³⁵ The masters who put their stamp on St. Jacob’s in these decisive years belonged to the group who oversaw construction at exactly the same time of the Our Lady Church, the future Cathedral (fig. 1.7) and drove architectural innovation throughout the Duchy of Brabant.³⁶

But the plans of St. Jacob’s and the Our Lady Church diverge. St. Jacob’s conformed to the more standard design of basilicas, with its nave and two aisles, while the Our Lady Church expanded to four aisles out of necessity to meet functional demands made on the space. The apparently conventional but actually distinctive feature of side chapels in St. Jacob’s will be considered in depth later, in chapter 8. Nevertheless, St. Jacob’s incorporated many features and construction techniques already tested in the mother church.³⁷

That family relationship extended to other churches among the many pushing up into Antwerp’s skyline during the first quarter of the 16th century. Just as one example, in 1507 St. Jacob’s even shared the wholesale purchase of wooden construction posts with its new sister parish church, St. Walburgis.³⁸

Indeed, St. Jacob’s has been identified as the prototype for St. Walburgis, St. Andries (then church of the Augustinian order), and the former Dominican Church in Antwerp, now St. Paul’s, under construction in Antwerp at the same time.³⁹ They all shared the simple and sturdy conventions of late-Brabant Gothic; a two-part nave elevation with arches and spandrels below divided from the clerestory above by a moulding of decorative tracery.⁴⁰ St. Jacob’s would remain true to that pattern well into the 17th century.

35 Payments to Dominicus Waghmakere are recorded in each of the surviving accounts up to and including 1525, when Keldermans also was paid: payment to the brother Herman Waghmakere III is recorded in RAAKASJA R.2., Dec. 25, 1512–Dec. 24, 1513.

36 See Kavalier 2000, 231, for a lucid account of this group and its achievement.

37 See the account by Vroom 1983, 16–21.

38 RAAKASJA R.2., 1506–1507: in a payment for 214 “richters” it is noted that “Hier af heeft de borchkercke [St. Walburgis] 1 quaertier.”

39 De Barsee 1975, 365–366, referring to Leurs n.d., 318.

40 For the development of this style of building see Van den Berg 1987.

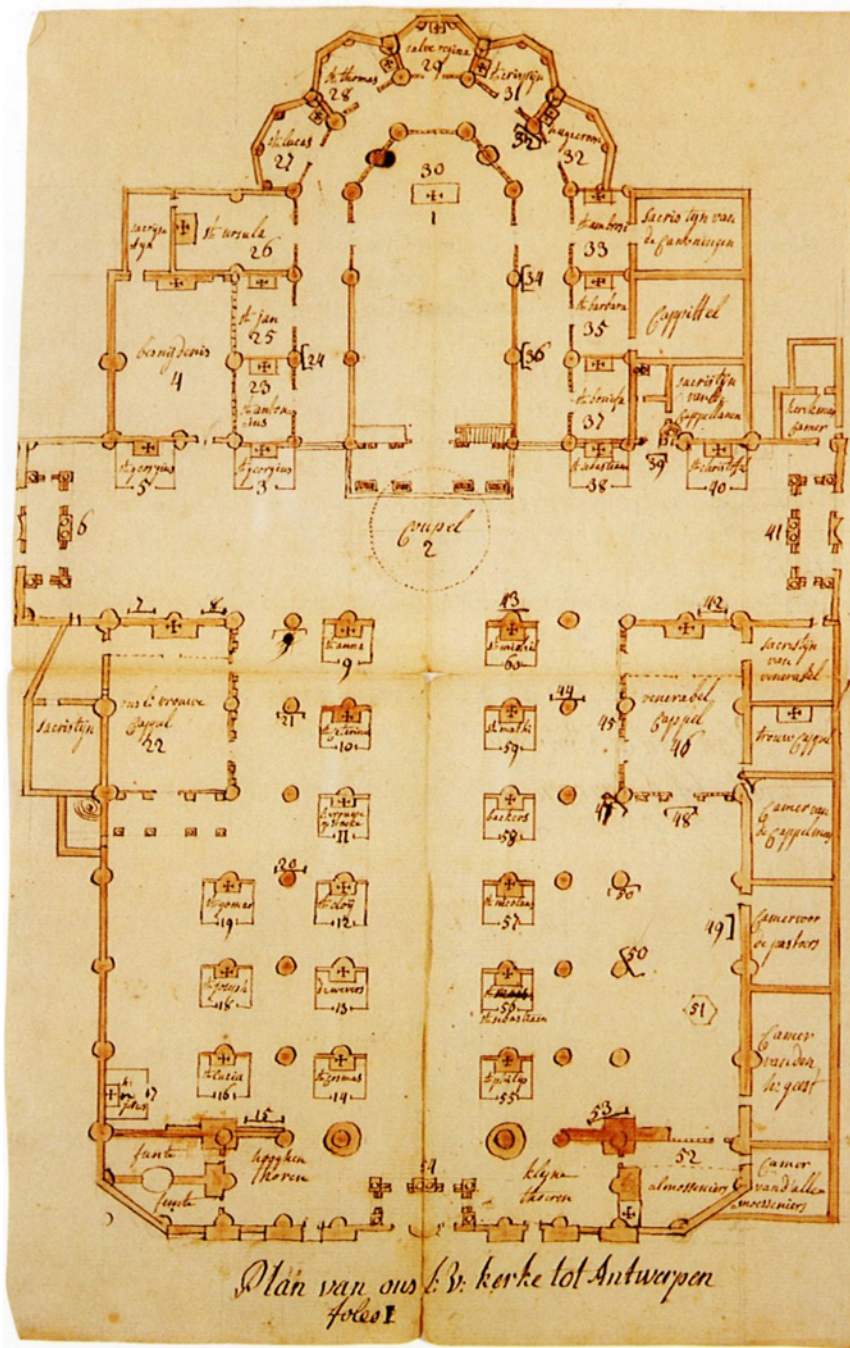


FIGURE 1.7 *18th-Century Plan of Antwerp Cathedral.*

1.4 Heresy and the Freeze on Ecclesiastical Construction 1525–1548

Given this powerful momentum in ecclesiastical building, it is remarkable to see how the progress abruptly ground to a halt. None of these churches was completed until well into the 17th century.⁴¹ After 1525 St. Jacob's plunged into crisis, and the absence of churchwardens' annual accounts indicates that normal operations, construction included, were suspended between 1526 and 1534.⁴²

At least four separate factors contributed to this crisis. First, starting in 1505 the churchwardens borrowed heavily to cover the high cost of labor and materials. Although church income remained steady for the moment, it was outstripped by interest paid on the debt.⁴³ Second, when in 1518 they requested permission from the Emperor Charles v to hold a lottery that would help pay down the debt, the churchwardens noted that St. Jacob's depended on contributions from "the good people and inhabitants of the city" whose charity had been stretched thin by the "many and sundry new God's houses and churches," thus too many mouths to feed.⁴⁴ Third, an economic slowdown during the 1520s and 1530s reduced the income available for church building.⁴⁵ But the paralysis lasted for the rest of the century, even after the economy picked up again, so that another reason should be sought for the long-term freeze.

That fourth explanation may be found in a later petition for privileges submitted by St. Jacob's churchwardens in 1523 to Charles v, justified by the argument that "the uproar surrounding the opinions of Luther" had eroded community support for the church.⁴⁶ Antwerp, with its diverse new population, printing industry, and influx of travellers, served as a major point of entry into the Netherlands for the variety of dissenting views labelled with the name of the most famous evangelical, Luther.⁴⁷ Heresy shook Catholic faith throughout the city, but it struck St. Jacob's harder and faster than elsewhere. In 1524 the pastor, "Master Nicolaes" van der Elst, was dismissed for preaching Lutheran doctrine, thus betrayal from within. He surfaced next 1527 in Brussels

41 De Barsee 1975, 366–367.

42 Vroom 1983, 160–161.

43 Vroom 1983, 108; Goovaerts 1890, 6.

44 Vroom 1983, 108; Goovaerts 1890, 8. Also see Thijs 1994, 14.

45 Vermeulen 2003, 33–34.

46 Vroom 1983, 108; Goovaerts 1890, 10–11: "... want zindert dat trumoer ende opinie van Lutherus geregneert heeft, soe zyn de aelmoessen der menschen zeere gedeclineert. ..."

47 Duke 2003, 1–124, gives a comprehensive overview of the entry of Reformation ideas into the Netherlands between 1520–1530.

where he led a circle of artisans, mostly painters and tapestry weavers, in reading the bible, a heretical act punishable by death.⁴⁸ Apparently he was not replaced until 1537.⁴⁹

For all these reasons, the devotional gifts that flowed liberally to both St. Jacob's and the Our Lady Church before 1520, declined to less than half of what they had been.⁵⁰ Only the most superficial devotion could evaporate so quickly. As church building froze, Antwerp's boom in commercial and civic construction heated up, underscoring the radical change that occurred.⁵¹ St. Jacob's churchwardens in their 1523 petition to the emperor raised the possibility of bankruptcy and abandonment of the whole enterprise. In 1525, this fear turned into a hard fact, and when accounts started again in 1534, they mostly recorded the sale of church property to pay off creditors under terms of a negotiated settlement.⁵² After 1525 nothing significant was built for more than twenty years.

1.5 The Spanish Oath and New Construction 1548–1554

Desperate resolve spurred churchwarden Willem Swaen to get the project moving again in 1548–1549.⁵³ He apparently escaped creditors and the terms of bankruptcy by setting up a separate account for the “administration, regiment, and management of income and expenses for new construction and masonry.”⁵⁴ It took a solemn oath to raise the money. Three of the wealthiest Spanish merchants living in Antwerp gathered in the choir where they swore, in the presence of representatives from the urban nobility, to donate 600 guilders towards completion of the new south transept, “three chapels,” and five piers. In turn the nobles promised to solicit contributions from their peers and merchants in the city.⁵⁵ Spanish merchants, in collaboration with select

48 *Corpus documentarum inquisitionis*, v, 237–242, cited by Duke 2003, 36.

49 See Van Lierus in Génard 1887, XLVI; Decavele 1990.

50 Vroom 1983, 108, 144, 160.

51 Vroom 1983, 103–104. For the broader development see Marnef 1996, 48–56.

52 Vroom 1983, 109; Goovaerts 1890, 16–22.

53 RAAKASJA 2059, May 15, 1548–1549.

54 RAAKASJA 2059, account “aengaende der administratien, regimente ende bewinde van ontfange ende uijtgevene...over de nieuwe edificie ende metselrije van der voirschreven kercken, te wetene van den nieuwen cruijswercke op de zuijtzijde, de drie capellen by den choir ende de vijff pileeren.”

55 RAAKASJA (old numbering 251A/28): “Item Anthoine de Polanco, Alonso de Sancte Gadea ende Diego de Sainte Croix hebben geloeft, achter staende in den nieuwen choir

elite families of Antwerp, revived the church of St. Jacob, patron saint of the Spanish “nation.”

With this new infusion of cash, substantial progress was made during the year on the south transept, on what must have been the three bays of the Sacrament Chapel that extended east from the transept, and on pillars around the choir.⁵⁶ The regular account of 1549–1550 now explicitly mentions that the “Blessed Sacrament” Chapel in the choir is still under construction, and in 1554 the Sacrament Chapel was consecrated while the vaults still were incomplete (for the special devotion to the Eucharist that may have led to this burst of activity, see below chapter 5).⁵⁷ As a counterpart to the Sacrament Chapel, a start was made in 1559 on the Our Lady Chapel in the north transept, but that project was left, for the moment, unattended (see below, chapter 6).⁵⁸ The “pillars” must be some of those ringing the choir as it now stands. The bird’s eye view of Antwerp published by Braun and Hogenberg in 1572 depicts them clearly, a skeletal frame waiting to be fleshed out (fig. 1.8).

After 1554 most work in St. Jacob’s turned to ornament, especially the installation of stained glass windows.⁵⁹ Payment in 1557 for whitewashing the church, precisely describes the state of the building at that time, with its nave,

aldaer wy begonsten te metsen aen de drye capellen in presentien van h. Dierick van den Werve, riddere, ende Cornelis Happaert ende meer andere te geven tot behoef van den voirschreven wercke . . . de zomme van 600 Karolus gulden eens, welcke coopliden begeert hebben aen den voirschreven heer Henricke van Berchem, heer Diericke van den Werve ende Cornelis Happaert als dat mijne heeren met dese drye coopliden soudén gaen tot sommigen coopliden huijsen. . . .”

56 Consistent references and payments are made to “de drye capellen zuijtzijde,” to “de drye capellen in den ommeganck,” to “de drije capellen achter den coor.” These indications, coupled with the fact that the high altar and choir were further west than they are now (see below, 34–35), and Lode de Clerq’s demonstration that the piers in the three bays east of the south transept were painted in the 16th century with a uniform pattern of vines and grapes, make it likely that the “three chapels” were the three bays which were then given over to the Sacrament Chapel.

57 RAAKASJA R.3., March 15, 1549–March 14, 1550; RAAKASJA R.4., March 15, 1554–March 14, 1555.

58 RAAKASJA 56, Beginsel ende Voortsganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen, f.87r.: 1559: “Soo heeft men den Choor of Cappelle van OLvrouwe gefondeert ofte begonst te maeken en daer toe afgenomen van de Erve van Philppote van Schoonhoven wede. Cornelis van der Heyden het w: de Kerckmrs. sich gereeseveert hadden mits betaelende aen de Eygenaers 4. gls. par Roede doch de Cappelle is onperfect gebleven.”

59 RAAKASJA R. 4., March 15, 1555–March 14, 1556, f.7r., f.13v., f.14v.; March 15, 1556–March 14, 1557, f.9v., f.10r.



FIGURE 1.8 *Bird's Eye View of Antwerp*, published in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne, 1572, detail showing St. Jacob's Church.

PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN.

provisional choir, south transept, interior of the tower, and fourteen chapels.⁶⁰ Probably it was during these years that wall paintings decorated many of the

60 RAAKASJA R. 4., March 15, 1557–March 14, 1558: “Den iersten junij anno 1557 betaelt Lambrechte Vermeeren voir dbesetten ende dwitten totten lysten toe van deser voirs. kercken beuck, choir ende cruyswerck op de zuytzyde; Lambrechte Vermeeren voirschreven ende zynen sone noch betaelt van dat zij met eenen diender der voirschreven kercken toren van bynnen beset ende gewit hebben; Den zelve Lambrechte noch voir dwitten van 14 capellen.”

chapels with religious scenes and symbolic patterns fitting to their dedications (a detailed look below in chapter 8).⁶¹

1.6 Iconoclasm and Revolution 1566–1585

In comparison with the other new parishes, St. Jacob's had come closer to realizing its original plan, and to richly ornamenting the interior, when on Aug. 20, 1566, and the days following, Calvinist iconoclasts ritually overturned the practices of Catholicism by destroying most of the images and sacred objects in Antwerp's churches.⁶² Damage in St. Jacob's was extensive. The "Calvinists" smashed organs and choir stalls along with the images, silencing the music and song that seduced worshippers away from the word of God.⁶³ More than three hundred pounds of metal fragments were all that remained of the bronze altar candlesticks, lamps, and holy water stoups which added lustre to the church.⁶⁴ Calvinists ransacked the church archive as well, stealing the account book in which St. Jacob's recorded its wealth of houses and rents.⁶⁵ Smaller items were scattered meticulously to disrupt everyday religious practice, as, for example, thousands of lead tokens distributed to prove attendance by the church's choristers.⁶⁶

61 De Clercq 2002, 34–36.

62 Prims 1982, VI-B, 494

63 FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij." folder 1, In Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope: p.132.-D: 1567 "item gegeven 1 Januarwari meester. . . orgelmaker, van dat hi dorgelen jaerleicx onderhalde; des hem getelt vanden xx Augusto lxvi van dat dorgelen ont stucken gesmeten werden met de belden . . . xv sc"; P.133.-AB. "Item (ge)gheven op den xxiii dach September [1566] Jasper Borlaerts, thymerman, van dat hy in den coer ghewrocht heeft dat de Calfenysten om stucken ghesmeten hadden allen de bancken, iiii dagen en eenen halven, den dach ix st. comt x sc i 1/2 d."

64 FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij." folder 1, In Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope: P.140. "Rek. Half Meert 1567/dito 1568; Aug. 4, 1567, from "ketelere" (brass smith) Peeter van Tricht, for 310 pounds of broken metal. vi poiunds xi sc. vi 1/2 d."

65 FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij." folder 1, In Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope: p.133.-C. "Item betaelt aen een nieuwen boeck om de huizen en de renten in te stellen, (daar) den ouden den xx Augusto . . . van den kercken gestolen was iiii sc. vi."

66 FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij." folder 1, In Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope: p.137. D. "Kladr. 1566/67 Halfmeert. Den 1 Junij 1567 begon men wederom looden

Few works in St. Jacob's survived the destruction, Jan Sanders van Hemessen's powerful triptych of *The Last Judgment* commemorating the Rockox family remains in the St. Dymphna Chapel for which it was painted (see below, figs. 8.2–8.3. Twelve panels divided among three chapels were saved from what must have been an elaborate altarpiece of painting and sculpture dedicated to St. Roch (see below, figs. 8.4–8.7). A stained glass of the Last Supper and donor portraits decorates the window of the Peat Carriers Chapel (see below, fig. 8.15). Finally, several mural paintings discovered under whitewash in nave and chapels attest to the rich variety of what is lost (see below, figs. 5.5, 8.8, 8.10–8.11.). The circumstances that may have spared these works from destruction will be looked at more closely below in chapter 8 about private chapels in the church.

Notably, St. Jacob's was chosen as a site to symbolize the restoration of Hapsburg state power in Antwerp, wrapped in the authority of the Catholic Church. It was here on May 1, 1567, that the governess, Margaret of Parma, attended the sermon preached by a Minorite Franciscan who had converted to the teachings of Calvin and Luther, but then returned to the Catholic faith, and argued against his previous errors. The Governess participated in a public denunciation of the heresy that had shaken the civic and sacred community.⁶⁷

Equally important for St. Jacob's, more than a year later, on July 28, 1568, the suffragan "consecration" bishop representing the Archdiocese of Mechelen consecrated the church's eighteen altars desecrated by the Calvinists. This ceremony restored the potency of Catholic doctrine and practice. Holy water, relics, the altar on which to celebrate mass, the divine authority of the bishop, the sacred force of sacramental words, all reversed the Calvinist sacrilege.⁶⁸ This suffragan, by his presence, confirmed as well the new organization of bishoprics that Philip II had imposed on the Netherlands in 1559. Of course, Philip's reform backfired at first, and helped spark the Protestant rebellion of 1566. But, after the Duke of Alva worked actively to implement the plan, in 1568

geven aen de choorsten; men had er nieuwe gegoten in plaets deroude verdweenen in 1566"; p.141. "B. Kladr. 1566/67: Item betaelt aen den soene van Matheus den tennegieter, elff hondert gegoten loyen totten choor dienende, ende iij c Sint Jacops loyen ende drye cruysoleyen drye hondert processie loyen, twee hondert administratie loyen" (2,300 in sum, but for very different purposes).

67 Diercxsens 1773, V, 51.

68 FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij." folder 1, In Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope; Bl.145. Kladr. 1567/1568, to the consecration bishop suffragan of Mechelen for consecrating 18 altars on July 28, 1568 "om dat de outaren ontwynt waren als de belden affgeworpen waren ende om twee ghesmeten"

the suffragan bishop in St. Jacob's could embody a new ecclesiastical order, not yet secure, that eventually would lay a solid foundation for the Counter Reformation in Antwerp and throughout the Spanish Netherlands.⁶⁹

Actual restoration at St. Jacob's did not equal these dramatic displays. New windows of the Spanish and English merchant "nations," and of the city Magistracy were installed, and some effort was taken to complete the north transept and the pillars round the choir.⁷⁰ I will argue later that the more fervent devotion and quicker recovery, which animated the Sacrament Chapel, was an exception (see below, chapter 5). But no major building campaigns were undertaken between 1567 and 1580 when the Calvinists regained control of Antwerp.

Among the articles of surrender imposed by the Spanish commander Alessandro Farnese on Aug. 17, 1585, Antwerp's Magistracy agreed to restore all the city's churches and erase the "scandal" of heresy.⁷¹ But St. Jacob's churchwardens waited until 1588 before they solicited donations to pay for tearing down the "sea-beggars" walls that disrupted the unity of the interior. Indeed, seventeen years separated the decisive Catholic victory of 1585 and the start of the new choir in 1602, the first in a succession of campaigns that eventually would complete the major structural elements of St. Jacob's in the 18th century.

1.7 Construction of the Nave, Transept, and Choir: 1602–1642

Early in 1596, master mason Matheeus van Herle presented the churchwardens and a group of merchants with their choice of three designs for the new choir of St. Jacob's.⁷² Work began only on March 5, 1602, when Karel Maes, dean of

69 Dierickx 1950, 260.

70 Prims 1982, VI-A, 62, for the Catholic restoration. RAAKASJA R.49., Kladrekening, payment on June 7, 1567 to mason Machil van Steenwinckel for plugging the holes where relics had been inserted in reconsecrated altars; payment of 7 lb. 4 s. Br. "aen mijnen heere den wijbisschop sofhrigaen van Mechelen van 18 outaeren te wijen in Sint Jacops kercke;" payments for windows in 1569; payments for work on the north transept; payments for work on choir pillars; RAAKASJA R. 55., Kladboek March 15, 1574–March 14, 1575.

71 Diercxsens 1773, VI, 184, article 22.

72 RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1595–1596: "Item den 27en voorn. maent (*februari 1596*) betaelt Matheeus van Herle metser voor drye patroonen gemaect om de heeren ende cooplleden te toonen van eenen nyeuwen choir thien gulden." These plans have not been found. A plan drawing dated to c.1600 by Van Lerijs, 108/35, actually was drawn later. See below, n.89 and fig. 1.12.

the Cathedral Chapter, Jacques Dassa, burgomaster, and Balthasar Robiano, upper churchwarden, laid the foundation stone. Consecrated by the bishop of Antwerp less than two years later, on January 4, 1604, this “new choir” amounted to no more than extending the church eastward to the limits marked already by the pillars that had been built for the purpose in the mid-16th century, and then covering the space with a provisional roof not much higher than the pillars themselves.⁷³ The lofty vaults would come later.

During the first decade of the century St. Jacob's progressed more quickly towards completion than its poor sister churches. In 1608 the parish church of St. Andries lamented the city's neglect, and noted that an exception had been made of St. Jacob's, favored with the kind of support that only the privileged Carmelite and Dominican cloisters enjoyed.⁷⁴ Even so, in the absence of reliable sources for funding, progress moved slowly everywhere. Clergy served without the necessary facilities. As part of a larger regional struggle to put Counter Reformation initiatives on a secure economic footing, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella published a decree on March 28, 1611, that legislated new means to pay for construction.⁷⁵ All revenue from collections at mass and sermons henceforth would support restoration or expansion of naves and choirs. If that did not suffice, tithes would be levied on ecclesiastical income, contributions would be exacted from clergy who enjoyed benefices in the church, and, as a last resort, collections would be taken up among the parishioners.⁷⁶ With these guarantees in place, St. Jacob's churchwardens could proceed more confidently to build their church.

Four separate campaigns accomplished the task, section by section, between 1618 and 1642. From “concept” in 1618 to completion in 1619, it took only a year to raise the clerestory of the nave to its present height at the springing of the vaults (fig. 1.9). A cross-shaped stone embedded in the clerestory bay second in from the transept on the south side bears the date “19 Juni 1618” when work actually started. (fig. 1.10). Construction of the transept to an equal height

73 The account depends on Van Lerijs 1855, 183–184; RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1603–1604, payment on January 12, 1604, for temporary wooden steps which the bishop used at the consecration.

74 Visschers 1853, I, 96.

75 Marinus 1995, 56–63, in particular on the efforts of Joannes Miraeus, bishop of Antwerp (1604–1611), who was instrumental in securing the Archdukes' support for financing church construction.

76 Diercxsens 1773, VII, 60–65; for the character and limitations of the Archdukes' support of the Counter Reformation in the South Netherlands, see Put 1998.



FIGURE 1.9 *View of north nave elevation to top of clerestory from west to east.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 1.10 *19 Juni 1618 dedication stone in south nave clerestory second bay.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 1.11 *View of transept and nave construction with the southwest nave pier as hinge.*
 PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

followed quickly, within the two-year interval, April 1619 to March 1621. The third and larger project, vaulting nave and transept, unfolded at a slower pace, commencing in 1629, and closing its books in 1634. A view from the transept into the nave demonstrates the modular system of construction that the masons used to complete the building (fig. 1.11). Finally, in 1636 the parish launched its drive to vault the four lofty choir bays, build new choir crypts and a foundation underneath to bear the weight of a massive new high altar. All that construction was done by 1642.

These four campaigns to complete the parish church followed one another over a period of twenty-four years, 1618–1642. Each was organized as a separate undertaking, in a consistent pattern that varied enough to chart both the stable and changing sources of support. Churchwardens and parish merchants would meet first to settle on a “concept” for the project, likely in consultation with the master mason who would direct the work. The tactic to identify each step with its own name and account book proved effective in attracting donations for a succession of clear, attainable goals.

St. Jacob's, 1618–1621, raised some 35,000 guilders. The accomplishment is all the more impressive when compared with the much slower progress made by the three other parish churches in the city. At the same time (1617–1622),

St. Jacob's community also contributed more generously than the other parishes to fund construction of Antwerp's new Jesuit Church.⁷⁷

Relative prosperity during the Twelve Years Truce (1609–1621) may have encouraged the generosity that enabled St. Jacob's to benefit from the Archdukes' provisions for financing church construction. Now the steadily increasing income from Sunday and feast day collections could be channelled to building the church, drawing on a deeper reservoir of community support.⁷⁸ As the Archdukes had arranged, special parish-wide collections solicited donations for each new campaign. Excise tax on wine also was tapped for the purpose of construction.⁷⁹ But it was the parish's wealthy merchant and patrician elite who determined to finish their church in a grand style, and used their influence to obtain the subventions from Church, State, and city in which they could secure the common enterprise of the Counter Reformation.

Antwerp's Portuguese "nation" supplied the cash that gave momentum to the first round of building.⁸⁰ Of thirteen donors who contributed over 200 guilders, seven also appear on a list of the "best informed merchants" of the "Portuguese nation" submitted in 1616 to the Archdukes Albert and Isabella by the chancellor of Brabant, P. Pecquius.⁸¹ They, and most of the other donors, participated in the interlocking network of merchants and magistrates who governed the city and now collaborated with increasing dedication to fashion St. Jacob's as their exclusive church. As frequently happened in St. Jacob's, they were joined by an eminent artist, in this instance Jan Brueghel the Elder

77 Marinus 1995, 25, provides a table with contributions from each parish made year by year, 1617–1622, to the construction of the Jesuit Church.

78 TABLE 1.2 *Church income, 1609–1620*

Kerkrekening	Sunday and Feast Day Collections	Total Income
1609–1610 (RAAKASJA R.7.)	f.1v.: 2,271—6	f.20v.: 7,221—42
1611–1612	f.1v.: 2,409—19	f.18v.: 8,169—16
1613–1614	f.1v.: 2,702—55	f.24v.: 10,817—18
1615–1616	f.1v.: 2,725—6	f.24v.: 10,518—11
1617–1618	f.1v.: 3,725—15	f.24v.: 12,659
1619–1620	f.1v.: 4,165—18	f.24v.: 12,269

79 RAAKASJA 952, Reeckeninge gehouden by Joos Hustin over het opmaecken van Beuck in dese kercke van Sint Jacop begonst den 23e Aprill 1618 geendicht den 28e meerte 1619 gesloten van myn heeren Comissarisen den 22 mayo 1624, f.6r.

80 RAAKASJA 952, f.1r–5v.

81 Prims 1982, VI-A, 365.

who also lived in the parish and donated the generous amount of 72 guilders 16 stivers.

The same group contributed as well to the next, 1619–1621, stage of raising the transept, but what they gave fell short of covering the 20,567 guilders cost. Antwerp's Magistracy and the Archduke Albert supplied the rest in grants totalling 7,000 guilders.⁸² A core group of officials highly placed in State and city also joined the cause. Jan de Gavarelle (secretary and then pensionary of Antwerp, administrator of the Spanish navy in the Netherlands, a priest after 1644), Nicolaas Rockox (burgomaster), Hendrick de Clerck (alderman and financier), and Goddefroy Houtappel (at the center in a circle of fervent Catholics) included St. Jacob's among the key institutions they judged vital to the success of the Counter Reformation in the city and supported its construction at the same time that they funded major projects in the Carmelite, Franciscan, and Jesuit churches.⁸³

The churchwardens also included in their accounts the workers, masons and stonecutters who built the church. A crew of eight stone cutters each earned 21 stivers a day, including a ration of beer, totalling 5 guilders 5 stivers for a five day week, and 6 guilders 6 stivers for six days (at 20 stivers per guilder). Their foreman Jacques des Infans received 30 stivers a day, while a larger crew of assistants who worked occasionally were paid only 18 stivers. For journeymen masons the daily wage amounted to 24 stivers, only 14 for assistants, with a typical weekly crew of six journeymen and fourteen assistants. Jan Brueghel the Elder's relatively modest contribution of 72 guilders therefore paid 68 1/2 days' wages for a stonecutter.⁸⁴ Given the seasonal nature of their work and the maximum of 250 work days a year, Brueghel's gift counted for more than a quarter of the close-to-subsistence annual wages that a construction

82 RAAKASJA 956, Rekeninghe gehouden by Nicolas van Ginderdeuren over het opmaecken van het Cruyswerck in dese kercke van Sint Jacopo Begonst den zoden Aprill 1619 geen-yndicht den 29den meerte 1621 gesloten door my heeren Commissarisen den 22 mayo, fols.2r–8v.

83 Prims 1982, VI-B, 573–574, on former alderman De Clerck's support for the Franciscan Minorites; on De Clerck's activity as capital financier, see Timmermans 1998, 144; Timmermans 2006, 171, on support of Rockox and Houtappel for the Jesuits; 266, Timmermans 2006, 266–267, on duplicated memorials for Rockox in the Minorite Church and in the Almoners Chamber, for De Gavarelle in St. Jacob's and in the Rosa Mystica Chapel of the Virgin that he founded in the Carmelite Church.

84 RAAKASJA 953, Rekeninghe vande betalinge gedaen by Joos Hustin, aende steenhauwers metsers hunne dienaeren, f.2r, f.17r–v.

worker would earn at St. Jacob's.⁸⁵ We can only guess at the mixture of pride, investment of skill, and physical effort that could have attached the workers in different ways to the church.

After the quick work of construction during 1619–1621 the churchwardens waited eight years before, in 1629–1630, they acted on plans finally to vault the nave and transept. Given that income remained steady, it may be that during these intervening years they chose instead to furnish what they had built with the ornaments necessary for services and also with the first appurtenances of luxurious decoration that would add lustre to the church. The same Sunday contributions, parish collections, merchants, churchmen, and magistrates that paid for construction now provided the means for stained glass windows to fill the new clerestory, a marble baptismal font, brass and marble chapel enclosures, a clockwork, and bells to play in St. Jacob's first carillon (see below, chapters 2, 4, and 7).⁸⁶ And when construction resumed, the community readily opened its pockets again.

In the ledgers of 1629–1630, gifts totalling more than 4,000 guilders, made exclusively to vault the transept and nave, were given on a few special occasions and times of the year. Donations peaked on April 9, 1629, the Monday of Holy Week, when the first stone was laid, and also during the feasts of Corpus Christi and Christmas. In 1636 as well, church officials circulated through the parish in the weeks around Easter, to solicit pledges for "the gilded book to construct the high choir."⁸⁷

Contributions for the choir vault increased over the next several years, and combined with new sources of wealth to raise St. Jacob's income to its maximum in 1641–1642, the year when the vaults were completed. Money flowed in to the coffers from Sunday and feast day collections, funeral masses, weddings, gifts for communion wine, legacies, burial fees, purchases of the new choir crypts, coins from the offer boxes, and donations for wax torches. The Vincque and Rubens families paid thousands to construct their new chapels that would

85 Scholliers 1989, 155–156, on maximum number of workdays and buying power of wages for Antwerp construction workers during the 17th century.

86 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1627–1629, f.4r., f.14v., parish collection and private gifts for the new clockwork manufactured by Louis vander Elsfoort who was paid 1,291 guilders 9 stivers.

87 RAAKASJA R. 8., Kerkrekening 1629–1630, f.10v.–11r, "Anderen extraordinarissen ontfanck tot het welsel deser kercke;" RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1635–1636: f.11r.: "Anderen extraordinaren ontfanck int omgaen metten vergulden boeck tot op bouwen vanden hoo-gen coor int jaer 1636;" Kerkrekening 1637–1638, f.8v.: "Anderen ontfanck int omgaen met de vergulden boeck tot den bau vande hooghe coor," and also record of donations from individuals; Kerkrekening 1639–1640, f.9r.

extend around the recently completed choir (see chapter 8). One parishioner donated an annuity of 6,000 guilders. Investments and rents on property now had accumulated to a critical mass where they produced generous annual returns. Finally, King Philip IV, Antwerp's bishop, and the city Magistracy all contributed substantial grants to finish the work.⁸⁸

By 1642 St. Jacob's growth created its own momentum to attract deeper support and to establish the church as a dynamic, viable force in the community. At this juncture the new pastor Franciscus van den Bossche took up his office and worked hard to animate the spiritual life of the parish. He revived the devotions of key chapels, founded brotherhoods, encouraged new cults, preached eloquently, and tended to the poor. Apparently the Counter Reformation had achieved its goal to anchor Catholic faith in the parish institution of local religion.

Clerestories and vaults from nave to choir were built true to the Gothic system of construction in which St. Jacob's was founded more than 150 years earlier. In chapter 2 I will consider the reasons behind that choice, and how later programs for the decoration of the church altered the visual character of the interior.

1.8 Construction of the Ambulatory and Radiating Chapels

While construction proceeded on the nave, transept, and vaults, an outer perimeter of ambulatory and chapels gradually enclosed the choir. A private donor financed each section and obtained in return exclusive burial rights to the chapel, choice of the patron saint, and freedom to decide how the altar would be decorated. To insure unity of the whole ensemble, the churchwardens insisted that all the chapels should be built according to the same design and in the same material of white stone. Uniformity of the building system that I have observed in completion of nave, transept, and choir, was therefore extended to these smaller parts as well.

Expansion began in 1626 with the Carillo Chapel, situated east of the Sacrament Chapel on the south side of the church. Even though it was torn down in 1664 to make way for expansion of the Sacrament Chapel, the Carillo Chapel served as the model to which the later chapels conformed (this process is analysed more in depth below, chapter 8). Progress moved eastward along the two sides and came to a close in 1656 with the Carena Chapel, the last of the three chapels radiating around the east end.

88 RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1641–1642, f.1r.–f.1iv.: total income 28,475 guilders 1 stiver.

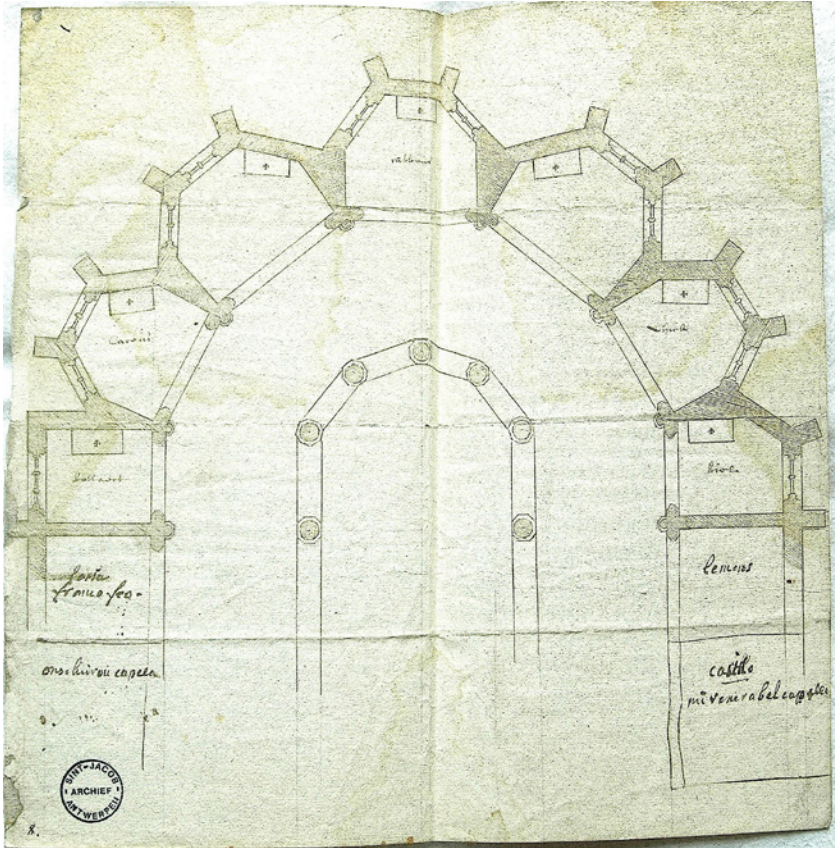


FIGURE 1.12 *Plan for choir, ambulatory, and chapels. RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

A plan drawing, generated by the development in 1636 of a coordinated design for the choir, records the intention to construct not three, but five radiating chapels, that would have filled the space on the east to its full extent (fig. 1.12).⁸⁹ Perhaps because it eventually proved so hard to pay for the Rubens

89 RAAKASJA (old numbering 108/35), dated in archival notes to c.1600, which is much too early. Söding 1986, 15, and 217–218, n.7, argues persuasively that the plan dates to between 1636, when the side chapels of the ambulatory were completed, and 1642, when the radiating chapels were begun, because the irregularities of the built side chapels are recorded while the irregularities of the radiating chapels are not included. RAAKASJA 996, petition by the pastor and churchwardens of St. Jacob's to the Antwerp Magistracy, May 20–June 12, 1636, requesting resolution of property dispute that blocked progress on the

and Vincque chapels, the two additional chapels never were built, although hope stayed alive until 1655.⁹⁰ But the graceful design of the plan makes evident, at least on paper, that the two additional chapels would have achieved a final perfection of Gothic luminosity and rhythmic flow.

Symmetry was attained only in 1664 when the Carillo Chapel was torn down to make way for enlargement of the Sacrament Chapel to its present square footprint of four bays that equalled the projected dimensions of its mate on the north side, the Our Lady Chapel. That change brought the compliment of chapels into a symmetrical alignment of nine: the two large chapels for the Sacrament and Our Lady extending east from the transept arms, three smaller private chapels flanking each side of the ambulatory, and the Rubens Chapel occupying the center at the east end of the church. Moving around the choir, the wide and spacious ambulatory continues in uninterrupted lines of sight the processional flow of the north and south aisles, and marks a transition between the more public spaces in the nave and the private exclusivity of each chapel (fig. 1.13). That distinctly private history of the chapels requires a separate chapter to tell.

1.9 Auxiliary Structures

Apart from the symmetrical body of the church, roughly complete by 1664, different auxiliary spaces were added onto the peripheries and nestled in the protective angles formed by the exterior walls. Most important, the rectangular marriage choir and sacristy were built as an extension of the Sacrament Chapel from 1669 to 1673 (see below, chapter 5 for these spaces). Earlier, a sacristy for the high altar had been constructed 1642–1643 between the new Vincque and Rubens chapels.⁹¹ In 1684 a room for the canons of St. Jacob's

ambulatory and chapels. The “principaelste constenaers ende bouwmeesters” (leading artists and master-builders) considered the obstacle very strange, and the Magistracy recommended that work should proceed “op het model ende concept” (according to the model and concept) submitted by the petitioners.

90 See below, chapter 8.

91 RAAKASJA R. 9., Kerkrekening 1643–1644, from Grootboek, f.159r., payment for land from houses in the Parochiaenstr. “ende geappliceert tot een sacristyne tot behoeff deser kercke.” The sacristy behind the choir between Vincque and Rubens Chapels, contains large number of liturgical vestments and cloths: RAA: Provinciaal Archief: K: 448: 1, f.3v.; Van Lierus 1855, 116: sacristy for the choir, built 1642.



FIGURE 1.13 *View from south aisle into south ambulatory.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Chapter was added, behind the high altar sacristy.⁹² Sacristies for the Our Lady Chapel, the Rubens Chapel, the Carenna Chapel, and the St. Roch Chapel all were built during the second half of the 17th century, as was the sacristy for the parish clergy set in place at the right angle formed by the outer wall of the St. Jan's Chapel off the south aisle and the west wall of the south transept arm.⁹³

92 Van Lierius 1855, 116, chapter room built 1684 off choir sacristy; RAAKASJA 1168, fol.1r: "Inventarisatie ende aenteeckeninge geschiet op den 29en: november 1700 & naer volgende daegen;" f.5v. "In het Cappittel van de Eerw: heeren Canonincken ghestaen achter de voornoemde Sacristye."

93 Our Lady Chapel: Van Lierius 1855, 141, sacristy built 1658–1659; Rubens Chapel: Van Lierius 1855, 125; small sacristy between Rubens and Carenna chapels, built during the second half of the 17th c. partly at the expense of Jan Bollaert, churchwarden, sacristy between Rubens and Carenna Chapels, RAA: Provinciaal Archief: K: 448: 1, f.4v., "No 14, Dans une petite sacristie, une armoire en bois de chêne;" sacristy exclusively for the Carenna Chapel: Dans la sacristie de la dit chapelle, two rooms with large inventory of objects, RAA: Provinciaal Archief: K: 448: 1, f.4v.–5r; sacristy for St. Roch Chapel, small house adjacent to the chapel standing in the South Churchyard of St. Jacob's, acquired Dec. 9, 1673, by Alexander Balthazar Roelants to serve as a sacristy for the Chapel and Confraternity of St. Roch: RAAKASJA 1089; RAA: Provinciaal Archief: K: 448: 1: f.2r. inventory of the St. Roch Chapel includes items "Dans le sacristie de la ditte chapelle;" general sacristy for

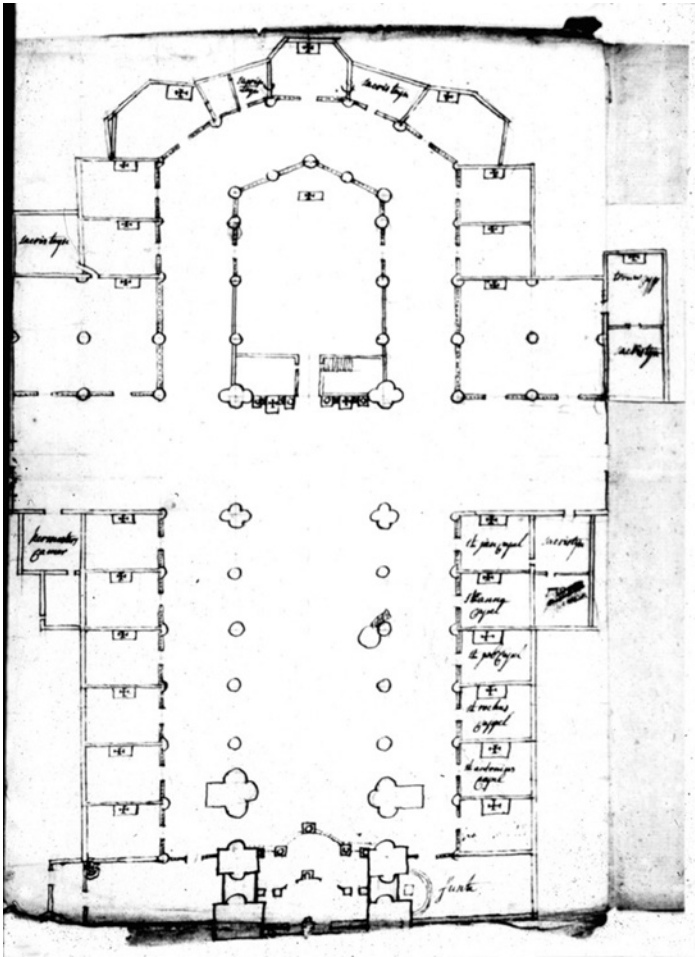


FIGURE 1.14 *18th-Century Plan of St. Jacobs.*
FAA.

The churchwardens occupied two rooms situated in the mirror position off the north transept.⁹⁴ An 18th-century plan indicates the locations of these auxiliary structures most clearly (fig. 1.14). It is evident that only the most privileged groups and institutions affiliated with the church had access to these spaces so useful for storage and meetings.

the parish clergy, in the perpendicular angle formed by the west wall of the south transept arm and the south, exterior wall of the St. Jan Chapel. RAAKASJA \$15., Kerkrekening 1749, f.364v.-365r.: Pastor Wouters, "casse" in the sacristy with exit to St. Jans Chapel.

94 Kerkmeesterskamer: Van Lerijs 1855, 146.

1.10 Portals

Once the interior of St. Jacob's was complete, effort was directed outside to perfect the three entrances into the church. In 1692 the burgomasters and aldermen of Antwerp chose one of two alternative designs submitted for the "great" main portal on the west façade by architect Balthasar Bouvart and presented to the city Magistracy by St. Jacob's churchwardens (fig. 1.15).⁹⁵ Work was completed in 1694. Most of the more than 5,000 guilders income for this project flowed from the estate of Portuguese merchant-banker Diego Duarte the Younger. But it was the significantly smaller contribution of 1,135 guilders that earned former churchwarden Michael Courtois commemoration in the marble inscription carved over the portal.⁹⁶ Hendrik Frans Verbruggen and Hieronymus Xavory executed the sculptural decoration that the French occupation government destroyed late in the 18th century.⁹⁷

The south portal facing onto the Langenieuwestr. was built next, in 1693, at the expense of Henricus Hillewerf, who already had donated the new retablo for the high altar (see below chapter 3 for the high altar). (fig. 1.16) Architect

95 RAAKASJA 1028, Extrakt uyt de stads requeste boeken: May 2, 1692: 'Verthoonen reverentelyck de fabricmeesters van die collegiale kerk deser stadt hoe dat sy hier nevens syn exhiberende twee distincte modellen respectie gedesigneerd metten letters A ende B. tenderende tot het opbauwen van het portael der zelve kerck comende in de St. Jacobs strate;' "Myne Heeren Borgermeesters ende Schepenen gesien hebbende de twee modellen ten dese gementioneert hebben genomineert ende geaprobeert de gene gedesigneert met de letter B: ordonnerende aen de supplianten op den voet van de selve modelle B: hun te reguleren. Actum in collegio 2 Maj 1692 ondt H. Sneyers." The account book presented to the bishop of Antwerp and the Antwerp Magistracy by the churchwardens records payment to Bouvart's widow: RAAKASJA 1030, accepted July 28, 1695: "Aende Weduwe [Balthazar] Bouvart] voor het ordonneren van den bouw ende teekenden vande modelle—189."

96 RAAKASJA 1030, total income: 5,045 guilders, 11 3/4 stivers: from Hieronimo Brughmans and Baron Le Roÿ as executors of the estate of Diego Duarte 740 guilders and 15 1/4 stuivers; from the same testament 2,600 guilders (for Duarte the Younger see Pohl 1977, 336); the city of Antwerp donated 260 guilders; Michael Courtois donated 1,083 guilders 7 stivers, and an additional 52 guilders "in consideratie vande marmere letterkens staende inden inscriptie steen." The inscription read: "Divo Jacobo/ propylæum hoc construi capitum/ promovit/ SPQA/ perfecit/ Michael Courtois/ MDCXCIV." Eradicated during French occupation, then replaced in 1847: RAAKASJA (old number 560): Van Lerijs, Beschryving, 2 bis.

97 RAAKASJA 1030, "Aen Heronimus Xavory voor differente leveringen van plaester, steen ende arbeydtsloon van beltdsnyden—47—12 1/2; Aen Hernico Verbruggen inschelyx over arbeydtsloon van beltdsnyden ende woortt volgens specificatie—310."



FIGURE 1.15
*West portal of St. Jacob's on
 St. Jacobstraat. 1917.*
 KIK 59736. ANONYMOUS
 PHOTOGRAPHER.

Balthasar Bouvart's design survives in a copy of the lost original project drawing that he submitted on June 20, 1693, to the bishop, who gave his approval as well to levelling the walls of the south churchyard⁹⁸ (fig. 1.17).

The architecture of the south portal still conforms to Bouvart's model conceived in Gothic style. But the original painting and sculpture that ornamented this entrance to the church all were lost, and replaced by a 19th-century group.⁹⁹ However, the graphite copy after Bouvart's design, in combination with records of payment, indicates that a mural painting of the Crucifixion

98 RAAKASJA (old number 111/36), 1847: graphite tracing dated 1847 after original dated 1693, then in possession of Jonker Le Candele. 109/289: June 20, 1693: request by pastor and churchwardens to bishop for permission to break down walls of the churchyard on the south side and build the South Portal. Henricus Hillewerwe has offered to build the portal at his own expense "volghens de modello aen Ue Hoochdyt in handen ghestelt met het kerckhof aen de selve zyde te calsyen[?] tot groet commoditÿt van de parochianten." RAAKASJA 984, "Uyttreksels uyt den Reken Boeck van den Eerweerden en Edelen Heer Henricus Hillewerwe nu ter tyd (1846) berustende onder Jonker Ludovicus Le Candele te Antwerpen" [in Van Lerijs's hand]. "30 Meert 1693. Uytgeven gedaen tot daerstelling van het buytenportael aen de zuydzyde van St. Jacobs, volgens de teekening van Balthasar Bouvart." See also Van Lerijs 1855, 81.

99 Van Lerijs 1855, 81, says the portal is designed in a bastard ogival style with no aesthetic merit, that the anonymous Crucifixion mural was in place until the French iconoclasm of 1796, and the sculptures by Quellinus and Willemsens, although removed in 1796, escaped destruction until they were sold to stonecutter Smeyers in 1824.



FIGURE 1.16

*South portal of St. Jacob's on the
Langenieuwestraat. 1901.*

KIK 59738. ANONYMOUS PHOTOGRAPHER.

decorated the field over the door. Artus Quellinus the Younger's *Mater Dolorosa* and Ludovicus Willemssens's *St. John the Evangelist*, both carved in stone, filled the niches on the left and right of the Crucifixion. The drawing captures the dynamic interaction of their grieving gestures.¹⁰⁰ In the Crucifixion, Mary Magdalen kneels, kisses Christ's feet, and embraces the Cross that is rotated to face Quellinus's *Virgin Mary* who inclines her head in mournful response. On the other side Willemssens composed *St. John* in a posture of tearful anguish. Sculptures and painting engage in a play of dramatic countermovements, gestures, flickers of deep shadow, and color that must have charged the space and evoked the viewer's empathetic response.

100 RAAKASJA 984, "Uyttreksels uyt den Reken Boeck van den Eerweerden en Edelen Heer Henricus Hillewerpe nu ter tyd (1846) berustende onder Jonker Ludovicus Le Candele te Antwerpen" [in Van Lerijs hand]: 1693 accounts for the exterior portal on the south side of the church includes payments: "Aen den schilder, het repareren van t Crucifix op den muer geschildert—7—10; Aen Arnout Quelin, voor het steenen beeld *Mater Dolorosa*—205—15; Aen Louis Willems (Willemssens) voor de figuer *St. Jan Evangelist*—240:" total expenditure 3,644 guilders—3 stuyvers. In 1708 the painter Peeters received 6 guilders for painting "het Crusefix van het portael," suggesting that frequent restorations were necessary for this picture exposed to the elements: see FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, *St. Jacob's/3: Kerkgebouw, Noorder en Zuidergevel, Groot Portaal/ Zuidergevel*.



FIGURE 1.17 *Balthasar Bouwart [copy after lost original by]. Project drawing for south Portal.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

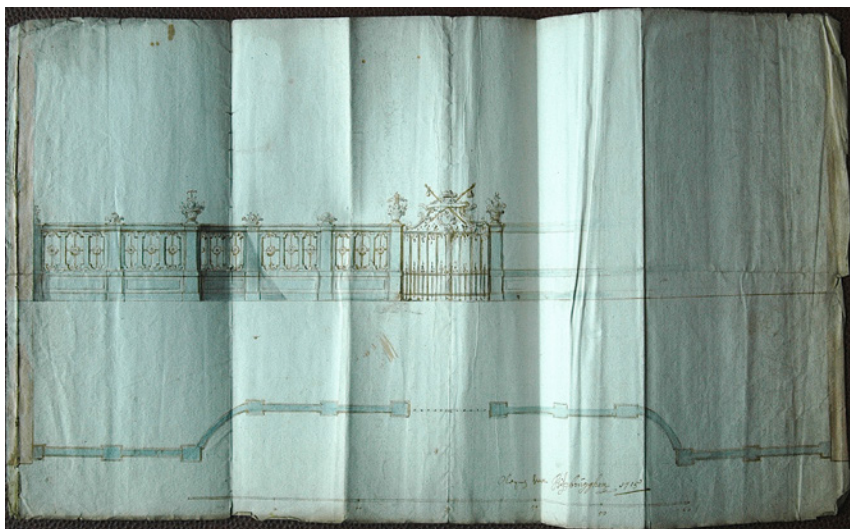


FIGURE 1.18 *Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen. Design for south churchyard fence. RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

A magnificent new fence was planned to enclose the churchyard in front of the south portal along the Langenieuwestr., but never built. Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen's drawing of 1715 records the design. Death's head finials indicate the graves beyond. St. James's insignia of crossed pilgrims' staffs and hat decorate the gate (fig. 1.18).¹⁰¹

Last of three, the north portal was built 1777–1780 as a covered passageway from the St. Jacobsmarkt to the door of the transept. Offering a sheltered entrance into the church, it met the demands that leading parishioners stated in a petition, probably submitted in 1772 (fig. 1.19).¹⁰² They complained that a cluster of three houses on the street blocked the way, harbored criminals, and accumulated filth. Difficult access for parishioners, who arrived in coaches and were exposed to wind and rain, chased many people away to services in the other churches where these comforts were available. Special gifts must have been forthcoming to pay for the construction costs of 6,635 guilders.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ RAAKASJA 1184, Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen: base: 56 cm., height: 32.2 cm., pen and brown ink with pink and grey wash; signed: H.F. Verbrugghen 1715

¹⁰² RAAKASJA 1042, receipts for construction dating from 1777–1780: RAAKASJA 1038, petition.

¹⁰³ RAAKASJA R.17, Kerkrekening 1780: "Sesde particulier capittel van uijtgeeff voor het maecken van den nieuwen inganck ofte portael op de St. Jacobsmerckt."



FIGURE 1.19 *View of north portal today.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

1.11 Windows

Although St. Jacob's today closely resembles its state at the end of the 18th century, two fundamental changes have altered subtly but decisively the character of the interior space. The pavement is completely different, a change I will explain later, when I consider the place of death in the church (chapter 10). Even more important is the loss over time of most stained glass windows. They were an integral part of the architecture and sprang directly from the progress on construction.

Completion of each major new section in the church created the demand for windows to fill the clerestory. After the Spanish victory of 1585 this happened first in the provisional choir consecrated in 1604, then in the nave and transept during the 1620s, and finally in the choir when it had been built to its present height by 1642.

Two windows surviving in chapels adjacent to the north aisle hint at the transformative effect of stained glass throughout the church. A heavily restored 16th-century stained glass in the Peat Carriers Chapel shows *The Last Supper* above, and below, portraits of the donors Joducus Draeck and Barbe Colibrant (fig. 1.20). The second window, donated in 1677 to the Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel, depicts *The Circumcision of Christ* (fig. 1.21). The windows do not open up transparently to the outside. Instead they halt the penetration of the eye with membranes of luminous color and figures that seal the space. Especially on the north side where daylight is most constant, the unchanging colored light separates the church both from the world outside and from the passage of time. Inside the sky is always a brilliant blue.

The windows displayed a multiplicity of interests. They symbolized communal faith, represented official patronage, and marked graves below. Often they incorporated portraits and coats of arms to assert family or group identity. The Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese banker-merchants, who rallied in support of the church during the early years after the Spanish conquest, also paid for the windows in the provisional choir between 1604 and 1606, one from a member of each "nation," so that the windows, none of which survive, stood for these "foreign" communities as well as for the individual donors.¹⁰⁴ At this

104 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1603–1604, f.49v., Dec. 27, 1604, window of Sr. Nicolaes Rodrigues installed in the choir; Kerkrekening 1605–1606, f.40v., payment for work in the choir, "alwaer Sr. Pieter Xalon syn gelas inne heeft doen stellen;" this over the family tomb as indicated in RAAKASJA 2641, f.6r., coat of arms and record of inscriptions on the tomb in the "Hooge Choor: "D.O.M./ Petro et Marco de Xalon Fratribus/ Petri Filiis ex nobilissima Familia/ Domini Valdecosera in Hispania Ortis."; RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening



FIGURE 1.20 *Peat Carriers Chapel, Draeck-Colibrant window on left.*
 PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

time, the Magistracy of Antwerp paid to repair the city's window, previously restored in 1569 after the iconoclasm of 1566, thus renewing the covenant that united the sacred and worldly institutions of urban society.¹⁰⁵

Between 1621 and 1626 Pieter van Veken, Jan de Labaer, and other leading glass painters in Antwerp, produced or repaired fourteen stained glass windows to fill the new clerestories of St. Jacob's nave and transept.¹⁰⁶ The variety of patrons for whom they worked suggests the broad support that the church attracted. Prominent city and state officials, the titular heads of

1603–1604, f.41v., payment for work in the choir on the window of Sr. Vicentio Centurione. For the Portuguese Rodrigues, see below, chapter 2, n.31; for the Genoese Centurione, Baetens 1976, I, 222.

105 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1605–1606, f.11v: under extraordinary income: Nov. 13, 1606, from the burgomaster and aldermen of Antwerp for repair of the Magistracy's window in the church: 60 guilders; RAAKASJA R.5., Kerkrekening March 15, 1569–March 14, 1570, f.45v.: payment for a tip to "Jacques Floris glasmaecker als hij der stadt glas gestopt ende vermaect hadde."

106 For Van Veken see below, n.109; for Labaer see below, n.107.



FIGURE 1.21 *Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel, Circumcision window taken from a distance.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Antwerp's secular and regular clergy, wealthy merchants, and parish groups all paid for windows that signalled their presence in different ways.¹⁰⁷

Conditions changed depending on location. For the east side of the transept over the two "great" chapels dedicated to Our Lady and to the Blessed Sacrament, the churchwardens insisted that clerestories should display images honoring the cults celebrated within. City receiver (rentmeester) Hendrick van der Stock's window, still in place over the entrance to the north ambulatory adjacent to the Lady Chapel, consequently portrays him and his family worshipping the Virgin enthroned with the Christ child (fig. 1.22).¹⁰⁸ Its

107 The stone tracery armatures for the two big windows on the north and south ends of the transept were paid for by city pensionary Jan de Gavarelle as part of his larger support for St. Jacob's and for key Counter Reformation institutions: RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1619–1620, f.37v.; the Abbot of St. Michiels Abbey, the head of the regular clergy in Antwerp, maintained a window in St. Jacob's, starting 1569, RAAKASJA R.5., Kerkrekening 1568–1569, f.47, payment, Nov. 14, 1567: "Item den selven dach noch betaelt aen den glasmaecker met sijn gesellen voer tsetten van den grooten glase [f.47v.] dat mijn heer den apt van Sinte Michiels der kercken gegeven heeft voer bier tsamen 2 s. 6 d.;" RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1625–1626, f.6r. under rubric of extraordinary gifts, "23 ditto [March 1625] van den prelaet van St. Michiels tot onderstant van de reparatie aen het gelas van voors. prelaet noortzijde 50 gl.;" Kerkrekening 1625–1626, f.6r., "Extraordinarien ontfanck soo van ghiften . . . 2 augustus [1625] van den eerw. heer den bischop Joannes Malderus wegen tstellen vant gelas tsijnder memorie 250 gl.;" f.19v., "Betaelt aen den Bossenaer[Jan de Labaer] gelaesmaecker voor het beloop van het gelas van den reverendissimo van Antwerpen van St. Jan onthoofdinge 275 gl.;" f.19v., "Betaelt aen Jan Labaer Bossenaer gelaese maecker boven de 250 guldens Sr. Marten van Ginderdeur gegeven van St. Marten noch 25 gl." Also see Van Lerijs 1855, 177, who locates the St. Martin in the clerestory of the north side of the nave. Van Cauwenbergh 1891, 66–67, noted the St. Martin as still in place, but in very bad condition; Van Lerijs 1855, 177, describes another window by Jan de Labaer, located over the eastern-most bay on the north side of the nave, that emulated Ruben's 1624 composition of *The Adoration of the Magi* painted for the high altar of the St. Michiels Abbey church and now in the Antwerp Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunst; during 1625–1626 Justo Canis, a leading merchant in trade with Spain, Jan Roose, merchant and future burgomaster, along with other well-to-do parishioners all contributed windows, likely for the nave, but whose exact positions and subjects no longer are known: RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1625–1626, f.28v, Canis's window "in den beuck" (see Baetens 1976, I, 152–153 on Canis); f.6r., contributions for windows by "Hr. Vereycken," and Filips Losson; f.20v., references to separate windows given by "Sr. Langet," Jan Roose (see Baetens 1976, I, 162, on Roose), and Martin Cambier.

108 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. In fo. [latest date of monument recorded 1770], 103: "in hac parte cruciata conspiciuntur adhuc quaedam fenestrae vitreae



FIGURE 1.22 *Northeast transept, Van der Stock window.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

counterpart in the south transept over the Sacrament Chapel featured priest-king Melchizedek offering bread and wine to Abraham, a famous Old Testament prefiguration of the Eucharist.¹⁰⁹ (For the more elaborate stained

vivis coloribus tinctae. . . in altera ibidem/ repaerantante D. Virginem, itidemque virum ac mulierem cum prolibus genuflexos haec inscripta: Deo jubilanti, hilarique virgini sac. memoriae/ D. Lucretiae Mennens conjugii ac matronae/ lectiss. Henricus van der Stock huic urbi./ thesauris L.M. poni jussit ao 1621." Also see Van Lerijs 1855, 133–134. On the office of receiver see J. van Acker 1989, 20–21. Van der Stock and Gaverelle both were major contributors and guarantors of loans for construction of the church: see RAAKASJA 952, Reekeninge gehouden by Joos Hustin over het opmaecken van Beuck in dese kercke van Sint Jacop begonst den 23e Aprill 1618 geendicht den 28e meerte 1619 gesloten van myn heeren Commissarisen den 22 mayo 1624, f.2r., f.3v. f.4r. f.6r.; RAAKASJA 956, Rekeninge gehouden by Nicolas van Ginderdeuren over het opmaecken van het Cruyswerck in dese kercke van Sint Jacopo Begonst den 20den Aprill 1619 geenyndicht den 29den meerte 1621 gesloten door myn heeren Commissarisen den 22 mayo 1624, f.6r.–v., f.8r., for these contributions and transactions.

109 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1621–1622, under extraordinary gifts: f.6r.: Jan. 16, 1622, from Jeronimus Caelheyt, for "stellen van een gelasch boven de orgel": 300 guilders; f.22r., April 10, 1622: glass paid for by Caelheyt made by Pieter van der Veken, to be placed above the

glass decorations inside the Blessed Sacrament and Our Lady Chapels, see below, chapters 5 and 6).

By contrast, donors who paid for windows in the clerestory of the nave could choose their own patron saints, like the donors of privately owned chapels. Joannes Malderus, bishop of Antwerp, commissioned a depiction of his name saint, John the Baptist, beheaded, and also a portrait of himself below.¹¹⁰

A window of St. Ursula with some of her ten thousand martyr-virgin companions reflected in a sacred light the parish's "young daughters (*jonge dochters*).” Later called “spiritual daughters (*geestelijcke dochters*),” or “biddies (*kwezels*),” they were in fact unmarried women and widows of all ages who chose to live a religious life supervised by a priest, their “spiritual father.” By choosing that path they could keep their financial and personal independence instead of entering a convent or even the less restrictive confines of the Beguinage.¹¹¹ It might be assumed that they all were wealthy single women. But in 1621 the “*jonge dochters*” cleaned and decorated the church, on the occasion of the annual procession of St. James, for a fee. Women who enjoyed different levels of income joined together in the pious work of cleansing the church, and received some compensation for it.¹¹² St. Jacob’s “spiritual daughters” paid most of the costs for their own window and chose St. Ursula as their patron. But they also relied on a collection through the parish that tapped deeper support from the community. In unprecedented fashion the window forged a bond of sisterhood that otherwise would have left no trace. More frequently the “spiritual daughters” commemorated themselves and their devotions through individual gifts to the church.¹¹³ After this and the five other windows donated to St. Jacob’s in 1625–1626 no windows were installed for more than a decade.

chapel of the blessed sacrament, 120 guilders; Van Lerijs 1855, 82, identified Caelheyt as under-almoner of St. Jacob’s, and described the window in detail.

110 See above, n.107.

111 Thijs 1990, 70–73.

112 RAAKASJA R.8., *Kerkrekening 1621–1622*, f.28v.

113 RAAKASJA R.8, *Kerkrekening 1625–1626*, f.2r. records a legacy to the church of 25 guilders from “een oude jonge dochter inde Vuylestraet;” *Kerkrekening 1621–1622*, f.6r., August 7, 1622, from a collection made in the parish by the pastor “tot het stellen van een gelasch inde kercke ter eeren vande jonge dochters vande prochie dwelck is dat van Sinte Ursula—279 guldens.”: f.22r.: under expenditures for diverse construction: April 10, 1622, to workers for extraordinary work on the glass of the “*jonge dochters deser prochie die tottet selve testellen gecontribueert hebben de somme van tweehondert negenentseventich guldens*”: total of 341 guldens, including 120 guldens to Pieter van Veken for the glass “soo wit als geschildert.”

Completion of the high choir furnished the occasion for new donations. In 1642 King Philip IV of Spain commissioned four stained glass windows in the east end of the apse to crown the work. The two windows in the center depicted Christ Holding His Cross and the Mater Dolorosa. Those on the outside portrayed the king and his queen, Isabella.¹¹⁴ Through his patronage and surrogate image, Philip extended sovereign protection to the whole church, renewed the attachment of Spanish kings to St. Jacob's (see below, chapter 8, on Philip II and the Chapel of St. Roch), and confirmed the close association between this church and the Spanish and Portuguese communities of Antwerp. Other windows in the exclusive precinct of the choir marked the graves of those entombed in the crypts below, the claim by a powerful confraternity to its privileged use of the high altar, and communal fervor attested to by the proceeds from a parish-wide collection.¹¹⁵

By late in the 18th century one writer could describe the north transept of the church as filled "with glass windows tintured in lively colors" and a mid-19th-century view painter depicted the same effect that is visible to the present day when morning sunlight from the east shines through and projects

114 RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1641–1641, f.19r., record for Nov. 20, 1642. Attribution to Van Diepenbeeck depends on the receipt Van Diepenbeeck signed Nov. 13, 1644, in acknowledgement of 800 guilders paid by the churchwardens for his work on four stained glass windows in the high choir. Churchwarden accounts, however, seem to contradict the attribution exclusively to Van Diepenbeeck, and even bring into question which windows were at issue: Kerkrekening 1643–1644, 52, f.18r.: "Item betaelt aen Abraham Diepenbeeck, Jan de Labar ende Guiliamme van den Eynde gelaesschryvers als gelasemaker over de vier geschilderde gelasen in den hoogen choor, reparatien ende andersints 899 gl. 6 st." Van Lerijs 1855, 188, reported that the two center windows in the choir were still in situ, while the outer portraits already were missing. Van Cauwenberghs 1891, 63, noted that the Christ Holding His Cross and Mater Dolorosa since had been taken down and kept in the church.

115 The first window on the north, the left side when entering from the transept represents the Holy Trinity. Although there is no documentary proof, the subject suggests that the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, founded in 1642 when the choir was vaulted, donated the window (for this Confraternity see below, chapt. 10). Van Lerijs 1855, 189, reported the window as still in situ. Merchant and churchwarden Franciscus Schilders followed suit in 1652 by donating the first window on the opposite, south side of the choir, adjacent to the organ. Glazier Jacques Gorreman manufactured the cartouche decorated with an angel's head and inscription commemorating Schilders and his wife, Mechtildis Gerebrants; RAAKASJA 2641, the "Sepulcher Book," f.18r. As the couple was buried in the choir, it is possible that their window, like that of Petro Xalon, served as an epitaph to mark the crypt below. Two more windows in the choir were paid for with 1,000 guilders collected for that purpose by the pastor of St. Jacob's in 1651: RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1651, f.14r.

colored reflections onto the pavement of the church's north aisle (figs. 1.23–1.25).¹¹⁶ The 18th-century writer directed attention in particular to the elaborate window with a Crucifixion and donor portraits commissioned in 1640 by Jan Peborch from glazier Jan de Loose, still in place, although in a ruinous state.¹¹⁷ But a third window installed next to it some twenty-five years later indicated a decisive change. The daughters of the leading Antwerp silk merchant Hendrik de Prince paid for a window ornamented with nothing more than an angel's head and an inscription in memory of their parents.¹¹⁸ It was the last stained glass for a public space in St. Jacob's installed before the 19th century.

Starting in the 1660s, windows still were installed and glaziers were paid, but only for plain, clear glass. It may be that Jansenist opposition to excessive imagery and decoration forced an almost Protestant chasteness. Clear windows also could have met the need for brilliant illumination in churches where reading assumed a more prominent role in worship. And it is striking to realize that all the windows whose positions in the nave of St. Jacob's are documented were set on the north side. The churchwardens may have decided from early in the 17th century to glaze the clerestory on the south side of the nave with clear glass only, to maximize the sunlight that would enter as a concession to the lucidity that would have agreed with the new Vitruvian principles guiding the decoration of the church.¹¹⁹ As for the windows that decorated the more private chapels, some of which survive, I will treat them in their place (chapter 8).

116 Bosboom's picture, oil on canvas, 85 × 66 cm. was sold at Sotheby's, Oct. 22, 2002, Amsterdam.

117 RAAKASJA 2642, *Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. In fo. [latest date of monument recorded 1770]: 103: "in hac parte cruciata conspiciuntur adhuc quaedam fenestrae vitreae vivis coloribus tinctae. in una earum supra sacellum B.M.V. repraesentatur Christi e cruce pendentis imago cum adstantibus hinc inde maria et joanne et inferius viro ac muliere genuflexis. inscriptio haec est: Jan van Peborch naer desen/ corten tijd een langen eewigheyt/ met/ Barbara Gillis/ niet sonder godt ao 1640." RAAKASJA R.9., *Kerkrekening 1639–1640*, f.14r.: "Item betaelt aen Jan de Loose gelasemaecker voort gelas bestelt ter begeerte van Sr. Peborch int cruyswerck boven Ons L. Vrouwe cappel 270 gl." Van Cauwenberghs 1891, 77, lists this as Jan de Loose's only significant known work.

118 RAAKASJA R.10., *Kerkrekening 1664–1666*, f.22r.: for "het maecken vant nieuwe glas boven O.L.Vrouwe choir gegeven bij de joffrouwen de Prince naerder gespecificeert in den grooten boeck onder den titel van uijtgeeff van groote reparatien als blijktt fol.282 862 gl.", including payment to "Geeraert Moons gelaasmaker." Van Lerijs 1855, 135, reported the window as still in situ. See Baetens 1976, 1, 122.

119 Thijs 1990, 115, observes that Antwerp glaziers in 1680 stressed that they were skilled only at making and repairing unpainted glass. Thijs makes no causal connection with Jansenism, and suggests instead that clear glass was cheaper, and therefore suitable for a period of



FIGURE 1.23 *Johannes Bosboom. View of northeast transept. 1842.*
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN.



FIGURE 1.24 *View of northeast transept.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 1.25 *Colored light from the northeast transept reflected on the pavement of the north aisle.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

1.12 Conclusion

Construction on St. Jacob's started in 1491 and finished two centuries later in the 1690s with the completion of the west and south portals. The pace of building correlates exactly with the depth of community support measured by contributions for Sunday and feast day collection. Building progressed quickly from 1491 until it hit a wall in 1525 when Lutheran opposition and general disaffection suddenly halted the construction of churches throughout the city. Work on St. Jacob's recommenced only in 1548 when a group of Spanish merchants dramatically swore to give and raise money for the cause. But the iconoclastic fury of 1566 abruptly ended that short time of activity. After the Catholic restoration of 1585, seventeen years elapsed before confidence in Antwerp's strengthening economy and the stability of the Hapsburg regime laid the foundation for new construction in 1602. Momentum accelerated and reached a climax in the successive campaigns from 1618 to 1642. As in the 16th century, the support of the Iberian merchants living in Antwerp—Portuguese and Spanish—proved decisive for insuring success.

The patrician and merchant character of the parish elite supplied communal know-how, financial acumen, government connections, and experience in managing so large an enterprise. Churchwardens were able to win the trust and contributions of their fellow businessmen, and included them in major decisions regarding construction. A means of raising capital typical of Iberian commercial practice—massive deficit spending—fuelled the most important building campaigns at St. Jacob's in the 16th and 17th centuries, just as it guaranteed quick completion of Antwerp's new Jesuit Church by 1621. In the same way that interlocking groups of merchants collaborated to share risk in a variety of capital ventures, so did they pool their wealth to fund the communal sanctuary. Frequently, the lists of Antwerp's investors and St. Jacob's supporters overlapped. The sophisticated taste of Antwerp's elite, including artists and connoisseurs, inspired the choices made in their church.

Although the wealthiest members of the community contributed the most, and stepped in to save the day at moments of crisis, the more public and open practice of parish-wide collections played an active role in attracting wider

economic crisis. He also thinks that the increased light from clear glass may have been welcomed because of the greater importance of reading in church services. Jacob de Wit noted (1748?) that the art of glass painting in Antwerp, at which Netherlanders excelled, had declined in recent years, partly because of the huge expense, as well as from the darkness that it causes: De Wit 1910, 3.

support and communal loyalty. These fundraising drives alerted the parish to the growth and needs of their church, encouraged personal pride and identification through the act of giving, and were themselves community events. Different possibilities were made available. One could contribute to a window of St. Ursula honoring the “virgins” of the parish, subscribe to a “golden book” for completing the choir, or make smaller donations for building the nave. Collections were frequent, and document a constant level of community participation. I will give more examples below when I turn to the decoration of the church’s public spaces.

Even though building the church took centuries and was interrupted by crises, St. Jacob’s emerged as a well-proportioned and harmonious product of late-Medieval Brabant Gothic construction in Antwerp. While adherence to the original plan conceived in 1496–1497 fixed the pattern for what was built in the 16th century, the campaigns to expand the choir, vault the nave, and complete the transept, begun in 1602, all depended on new “concepts” designed by master masons and approved by the churchwardens in consultation with leading merchants of the parish. Gothic flourished in the 17th century, the “Age of Rubens, the Age of Baroque.” Masons, working from a lodge, vaulted St. Jacob’s with pointed rib arches at exactly the moment when Rubens, in 1622, praised the new models of the Jesuit churches in Brussels and Antwerp and called for a revolution in architecture that would substitute the “rules of the ancient Greeks and Romans” for the “barbaric style of Gothic” still prevalent in the Netherlands.¹²⁰ What motives impelled this choice in favor of historical continuity?

In 1602 Gothic still was the normal style of sacred architecture in the South Netherlands. Jesuits built in it, master masons—not architects—designed and practiced in it as their technical tradition, and skilled workers were trained to execute it.¹²¹ Antwerp painters, by contrast, already had adopted the humanist-inspired style and liberal theory of art, based on the imitation of ancient

120 Rubens 1622, *Al Benigno Lettore*: “Vediamo che in queste parti si v`a poco à poco inuechiando & abolendo la maniera d’Architettura, che si chiama Barbara, ò Gothica; & che alcuni bellissimi ingegni introducono la vera simmetria di quella, conforme le regole degli antichi, Graeci e Romani, con grandissimo splendore & ornamento della Patria; come appare nelli Tempij famosi fatti di fresco dalla venerabil Società di Iesv, nelle città di Bruselles & Anversa.”

121 Braun 1907, 3–4, was the first to make a sustained argument that Gothic survived in South Netherlands ecclesiastical architecture well into the 17th century. See now Grieten 1993, 230; Snaet 2007, 280–283.

Greek and Roman models, mediated by modern Italian theory and practice. For that very reason, Antwerp's stone-sculptors took legal measures to free themselves from the old fashioned masons' guild so that they could join with the more esteemed painters.¹²² Gothic however offered the only viable answer to the demands of reconstruction and resurgence in the building of Catholic churches. Indeed, early in the 17th century master mason Jan van den Sande supervised completion of the vaults in both the Cathedral and St. Jacob's in Gothic, and thus continued the masonic tradition that linked the two buildings together starting in the 1490s.¹²³ Despite the negative associations that Rubens and the Jesuits later attached to it, Brabant Gothic also must have fulfilled that desire for continuity and the comfort of familiarity which only the Catholic Church could offer to the conservative faithful among the "simple folk" who were alienated by Italianate innovations in music and sacramental furnishings.¹²⁴

Yet the actual design of St. Jacob's conveys far more than a manipulative conservatism. The churchwardens persistently imposed a uniform Gothic style well into the 1640s, long after humanist principles of architecture had become the norm among the elite to whom the churchwardens belonged. Credit must go to them, paradoxically, for a judgment truly informed by what Rubens called the "rules" of the ancients, in which propriety of style and symmetry came first, even if this meant adherence to what was for them the antiquated Gothic.¹²⁵ Nor were they alone. All Antwerp churches begun late in the 15th century and left unfinished were completed during the 17th century in the Gothic style. Among this group, St. Jacob's was recognized as exceptional for its beauty.

An anonymous mid-18th-century visitor to St. Jacob's encapsulated a consensus that had formed during almost a hundred years.¹²⁶ "This church," he or

122 Filipczak 1987, 15–18, 117–120, analyzes the significance of this conflict.

123 See Grieten 1993, 125–126; 110/2, f.6r., 47, Kerkrekening 1623–1624, f.23v., for payments to Van den Sande.

124 The introduction of closed confessionals based on the model introduced in Milan by Carlo Borromeo was resisted in the suburban parish of Berchem outside Antwerp where penitents objected to saying confession through grates which, consequently, were removed: see De Raeymaecker 1977, 59, n.138.

125 See Wilkinson-Zerner 1995, 153, who argues that the architect Juan de Herrera made the analogous decision to finish the Cathedral of Salamanca in the Gothic style in which it was begun.

126 FAA PK 2901: "Relation d'un séjour de Michel de Saint Martin a Anvers en 1661/Fragment:" the identification with Michel de Saint Martin, who visited Antwerp in 1661, is impossible, because, among other things, the account of St. Jacob's includes the 1729 date of death of

she wrote, “is the most beautiful temple of the city, and surpasses the Cathedral by far, in my opinion, in richness and in polished finesse, as well as in the proportions of its [Gothic] architectural style. It is supported by eight columns and four Gothic piers.” After weighing the symmetrical balance of the chapels, the writer brings the reader back to the middle of the nave where he or she can “appreciate how beautiful and magnificent this temple is.”¹²⁷

Although the churchwardens built St. Jacob's in Gothic, after the Catholic restoration of 1585 they simultaneously ornamented the church in successive generations of decoration based on the “antique” style. The next chapter will reconstruct that progress and uncover the principles that guided the grafting of a new inner skin for St. Jacob's.

Michiel Peeters, whose epitaph monument is described. Also, critical terms such as *grand gout*, *bon composition*, and *symmetrie*, derive from French criticism of the second half of the 17th century, Roger de Piles, for example. On the visit of Michel de Saint-Martin, see De Dornon 1902 and Goris 1940, where no mention is made of a visit to St. Jacob's.

- 127 FAA PK 2901: Relation d'un séjour de Michel de Saint Martin a Anvers en 1661/Fragment: f.20 (no versos): De la Collegiale de St. Jacques fondée en 1656: “Cette église collegiale, que 30 chanoine deservent est le plus beau temple de cette ville et surpasse même de beaucoup, à mon avis la cathedrale en richesses et en propreté, comme aussi en portien dans son goût d'architecture. Il est soutenu par huit colonnes et quatre pilastres gothiques.” “... revenons au milieu de cette eglise pour apprecier combien ce temple est beau et magnifique.”

Ornament for the Church: 1585–1656

2.1 Introduction

During the years between the restoration of Catholic faith in 1585 and the end of construction on the interior of the church in 1656, St. Jacob's churchwardens simultaneously introduced the ornaments necessary for parish worship and to beautify God's house. These changes occurred in two distinct phases; 1585–1603 in response to bare necessity and 1604–1656 through the implementation of coordinated plans. After 1656 the churchwardens developed a new concept that superseded what had come before and would fashion the interior of St. Jacob's much as it appears today. The next chapter considers the conditions and rationale behind that later plan for ornament.

2.2 1585–1603: Response to Bare Necessity

When Catholics regained control of St. Jacob's in 1585, what was most important for them to restore? While Spain's hold on power was still uncertain and resources were scarce, which symbols proved vital for Catholic worship and for the life of the parish community? We have seen that, after Alessandro Farnese ordered Antwerp to remove all “scandal” of heresy from the city's churches, it took three years before St. Jacob's churchwardens in 1588 tore down the Calvinist “sea beggars” wall that separated the nave from the choir. It would take longer for the tenants of the chapels flanking the nave to restore their altars, even though the city ordered them to do so in 1585 (see below, chapter 8). The churchwardens waited until 1593 before they built a new retable for the high altar, and until 1602 before they started to expand the choir. New ornament was slow to come, and construction even slower.

But some things were indispensable. In 1586 the churchwardens commissioned sculptor Huybrecht Beda to carve a new wooden image of St. James in place of an older image destroyed by the Calvinists that had in turn been carved in 1567 by sculptor Jan Verhaeze to replace the first St. James, broken apart by the iconoclasts of 1566.¹

¹ For Beda's work see Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1961, I, 284; for Verhaeze see RAAKASJA R.49., Kladrekening 1567–1568, f.71r. After the end of the French occupation in 1814, Beda's carving

Beda's 1586 image may have expressed the parish's devotion to its patron saint. More immediately, it was required as one of the key actors in the city-wide renewal of processions that Antwerp's Magistracy legislated in the same year.² If the Calvinist regime had prohibited religious processions and displays of sacred images in the streets, the Catholics now used these signs to reclaim the public space of the city for their faith. Along with the other major processions that measured the passing seasons in sacred time, each parish church staged a procession for the image of its patron saint. St. James's procession fell on the first Sunday after his feast day, July 25. On the eve of the procession his image was taken down from the high altar and set in the middle of the nave where the churchwardens would sit behind a table, proffering relics for "the whole community" to kiss, distributing devotional prints (around 2,000 each year starting in 1595), and collecting alms.³

Saints, relics, images, and processions all inserted Catholic belief back into the life of the city and shattered the constraints of Calvinist heresy. On procession day St. James was carried along a route that traced the borders of the parish, looped around the center of the city past the Great Market and the City Hall, and then returned to the church. Representatives of the clergy, Magistracy, militia and trade guilds marched along in strict order, accompanied by musicians, to demonstrate the new unity of the city under Church and State.⁴ After it had been renewed in 1586, St. Jacob's procession continued each year until 1751 when it was abrogated by the bishop of Antwerp, along with other customs that no longer met new standards of devotion (see below, chapter 11).

Three years later, in 1589, the churchwardens turned again to Huybrecht Beda (warden of the Sacrament Chapel from 1591) for a new Calvary mounted on the sacred beam over the choir to mark the presence of the consecrated host within.⁵ That same year the churchwardens solicited donations as well for

was ensconced outside on the west portal of the church where it stood until 1921 (Thyssen 1922, 194).

2 Diercxens 1773, xx, 214–224, on the renewal of Antwerp's religious processions.

3 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's, 2: Liturgische en andere boeken-papier binden en offerprenten, Wapenboek: first reference to prints is: 1595–1596: "Augusti 1595 Betaelt voor 2150 gedruckte beeldekens van St. Jacob, die wy op Sint Jacobs ommeganck dach hebben wtgegeven aen de gemente die quaemn offeren tot xi stuyv. thondert, is elf guld v 1/2 st."

4 RAAKASJA 51, Boek genaemd den Ouden Hagens inhoudende rubrieken en resolutien der Kerkmeesters enz., 1677–1770, f.8v., for the protocols of the procession.

5 RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1589–1590, f.58r.: "Den 13 Augusti ao 1589 betaelt aen Huybrecht Beda voor een crucifix met twee beelden die hy der kercken geleverd heeft om te stellen voor den hoogen choor 60 guldens."



FIGURE 2.1 *Marten de Vos. The Martyrdom of St. James, 1594; Ambrosius Francken the Elder. Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery; Christ Raising the Daughter of Jairus, 1609–1610. Former altarpiece for the high altar, open position. Note that the original positions of the wings are reversed.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU — LIGHTHOUSE.

a new high altar retable. But the gifts made in response granted the churchwardens flexibility to decide what was most important and they chose instead to build a new pipe organ (see below for the restoration of the sounds of Catholic worship).⁶

By 1593 they had raised enough income to commission the new high altar retable. Its frame assembled by joiner Otmaer van Ommen was replaced quickly after expansion of the choir in 1605. The altarpiece, painted by Marten de Vos, survives as the most impressive work from this early period of recovery, although it too was later removed from the high altar when the retable now in place was built in 1684.⁷ (fig. 2.1).

De Vos's picture offers St. James as victim, humbly submitting to martyrdom. He kneels, stripped to the waist, surrounded by cruel enemies, awaiting

6 RAAKASJA R.6., *Kerkrekening 1589–1590*, f.7r.: August 13, 1589, received from Stephanus Langritius, pastor of St. Jacob's, 300 guilders, obtained "tot nootsakelycke reparatie ende tot een tafereel als best te passe commen sal." f.7v.: Marie Verheyen gave 68 guilders 19 stivers for repair of the organ or a "tafereel" as seems best.

7 RAAKASJA R.6., *Kerkrekening 1593–1594*, payment of 512 guilders to De Vos in Dec. 1594. An additional payment of 200 guilders on Aug. 29, 1594, is transcribed by Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1961, I, 377.

the executioner's blow. Only the scribe Josias, converted by a miracle James has just performed, speaks kindly to the saint, and as a consequence of his faith, will suffer the same end (Golden Legend).⁸ St. Jacob's altarpiece shared in common with the altarpieces painted for other Antwerp churches during the 1590s a heavy emphasis on martyrdom and sacrifice, intended to strengthen Catholics in their resolve against the Protestant enemy who still posed so immediate a threat.⁹

At the periphery of his picture De Vos included earlier episodes from the life of St. James when Christ accorded special distinction to His apostle. At the top left Jesus calls St. James the fisherman to follow Him. And at the top center, saints James, Peter, and John witness the transfiguration of Christ, although it is only their worshipful upturned gazes that imply the presence of the Savior, for a reason I will suggest a little further on.

St. Jacob's considered even a provisional restoration of the choir and high altar as an indispensable priority during the decade after 1585. These decisions responded not only to the needs of the parish church, but also to the larger demands coordinated by the city Magistracy for renewing Catholic faith throughout Antwerp with images, processions, relics, and scenes of martyrdom. The Calvary set over the beam in front of the choir symbolized with equal potency the restitution of the most sacred Catholic practices in the mass and the consecrated host at the high altar.

At the same time, accounts demonstrate that during these early years the churchwardens gave equal priority to a project that is at first sight more surprising; restoring the distinctive sounds of Catholic worship inside and outside St. Jacob's. They made sure that music from the pipe organ, the peal of bells over the roofs of the parish, and the Catholic version of the word of God preached from the pulpit all would be heard.

2.3 Restoring the Sounds of Catholic Worship

2.3.1 *Pulpit*

The conventional view holds that Protestants, who cared only for the word of God, eliminated from their churches all the vestiges of Catholic worship so that they could concentrate exclusively on the preacher in his pulpit. According to this view Catholics by contrast filled their Counter Reformation churches anew with images and sacred objects around which they could enact with even greater fervor the sacraments and devotions abhorred by Calvinists

⁸ Zweite 1980, 305–306, no. 85.

⁹ Freedberg 1976.

as superstitious idolatry. Recently this extreme of polar opposites has been modified with the argument that Calvinists in the Dutch Republic did actually incorporate a variety of new symbolic and visual works into their churches.¹⁰ From the other side, reconstruction of the choices and practices centered on the pulpit at St. Jacob's restores the importance of sermons and the word of God to early modern Catholic belief.

Indeed, in their first expenditure after they regained control of St. Jacob's, the Catholic churchwardens paid a joiner, Cornelis Aertssen, in November 1585, for making "the new pulpit," less than three months after the Calvinists were driven out.¹¹ Given the short interval, it is possible that the Calvinist masters of the church had commissioned the pulpit before they were deposed, and that the Catholics now took it over for their own use.¹² In any case, St. Jacob's already had been established as a major site for Catholic preaching in Antwerp. Twenty years earlier, during months of crisis and Calvinist domination in 1566–1567, the Jesuit Father Claysson had delivered sermons in French defending the Catholic faith. In the spring of 1567 the Governess, Margaret of Parma, attended a sermon in St. Jacob's that symbolized the restoration of Hapsburg-Catholic power throughout the city.¹³ When the Calvinists occupied the nave in 1580 they probably stripped the pulpit of any figural ornament. The Catholic parish community took care first to restore this font of authority, persuasion, and doctrine.

No official instruction determined the location of pulpits. But the surviving examples and contemporary depictions of church interiors indicate that it was the custom in the Netherlands to erect the pulpit against one of the central pillars on the south side of the nave.¹⁴ In St. Jacob's the 1585 pulpit

10 Mochizuki 2008.

11 RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening Aug. 1585–Dec. 1586: "Den 15en novembris anno xvc LXXXV betaelt den vier dekens die den nyeuwen preeckstoel geschat ende geprisseert hadden die de voorschreven Cornelis Aertssen scrynwercker gemaect hadde."

12 Baisier 2008, I, 95, raises this possibility.

13 For sermons in French delivered by the Jesuit Claysson see Poncelet 1926, 272–275; for the sermon attended by Margaret of Parma, see above, chapter 1.

14 Carlo Borromeo actually gives instructions opposed to Flemish practice. If there is one pulpit in the church, he says, it should be on the north or Evangelist-side, and not far from the high altar so that it can be reached conveniently by the priest when he delivers the sermon during solemn mass: Borromeo, *Instructiones Fabricae Ecclesiasticae*, in Barocchi 1962, 62: "Si unus tantum ambo in ecclesia constituendus sit, is a latere evangelii statuat: 63: pulpits should be situated "in gremio ecclesiae, loco conspicuo, unde vel concionator vel lector ab omnibus et conspici et audiri possit, apte collocati, ab altari maiori, ut pro ecclesiae ratione fieri decore potest, non longe admodum sint: quo sacerdoti, ut decretum est, intra Missarum solemnia, concionanti, commodiori usui esse queant."



FIGURE 2.2 *Peeter Neefs the Younger. Nave of the St. Jacob's Church from east to west. 1653. SCHWERIN, STAATLICHES MUSEUM.*

was installed on the third pillar west from the transept. Aertssen's work, as it appears in several mid-17th-century views, adhered to a design in conformance with the "antique" style that, as I argue further on, established the dominant pattern for decoration in St. Jacob's after 1585. Its tulip-like base supported an hexagonal barrel that was capped by a rectangular sounding board with a triangular point at the front. (fig. 2.2). No figurative ornament is visible in any of the representations.

At St. Jacob's, the new pulpit immediately drew attention and pulled crowds around a north-south axis that crossed the dominant west-east perspective down the nave. The separate character of the nave, reserved as communal space in which to gather and hear the word of God, was reinforced by the free and open area in front of the pulpit and by pews built against pillars and in the north aisle facing towards the pulpit. It was an arrangement completely different from the tight rows of portable chairs and benches that today direct Catholic worshippers towards the priest who speaks into his microphone from the exposed high altar in the east, where mass is said and from which the faithful will receive the consecrated host of communion.

In St. Jacob's and other early modern South Netherlands churches, the location of the pulpit, separate from any altar, granted the sermon independent

status in Catholic worship. It demanded from listeners the kind of exclusive attention to the words of the preacher that we now assume distinctive of Protestant churches. Even the best accounts repeat this confessional bias by assuming that pulpits in Protestant churches consistently symbolize the centrality of the word to a greater degree than Catholic pulpits.¹⁵ Evidence I present here suggests the anachronistic distortion of that view. In 17th-century Antwerp, the central importance of the word, forcefully stated by the pulpit in St. Jacob's, is positively confirmed in the surprising comment of Rumoldus Backx, famous preacher of Antwerp Cathedral, who wrote in 1685, that "the commandment [of the Catholic Church] to attend the sermon on Sunday and Holy Days also can be comprehended in the commandment to attend mass; because in earlier times it was always the custom to integrate the sermon into the mass . . . as one still sees practiced in many places, especially in remote country parishes."¹⁶ The evidence of St. Jacob's shows that the sermon had been extracted much earlier from the liturgy of the mass.

In fact, the churchwardens spent generously to insure that sermons delivered at St. Jacob's would speak to diverse audiences who would attend in large numbers to hear the words chosen for their ears. Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits were paid to preach regularly on Sundays and feast days, invited for their skill and eloquence.¹⁷ Capuchins, who addressed themselves to the urban poor and evoked the suffering of Christ, started preaching at St. Jacob's during the feast of the Blessed Sacrament in 1626, and they were paid in 1661 for preaching all through the year.¹⁸ But around the same time, in 1657, Adam Samuel Hartmann, a minister of the reformed Moravian Church, heard a

15 See Van Swigchem et al. 1984, 171–191.

16 Storme 1991, 161–162, cites this passage from Backx's sermon delivered 1685 and published in Backx 1711, I, 512: "Ten tweede soo can het Gebodt van op Sondagen en Heylighdagen Sermoon te hooren, oock wel begrepen worden in het Gebodt van Misse te hooren: want in vorige tyden pleegh men altyt het Sermoon te doen onder de Misse, gelijck den H. Paus Clemens getuyght in zijn 8. boeck van d'Apostolike instellingen aen het 4. Capittel. En gelijck men noch op vele plaetsen in't gebruyck siet, principaelijck in de buyten Parochien te platte Lande."

17 RAAKASJA R.7, Kerkrekening, 1607–1608, f.30r., payment to Fathers Minor for preaching every Sunday and feast day; FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/2: Liturgische en andere boeken-papier binden en offerprenten, Wapenboek: from Kerkrekening, 1615–1618: May 18, 1615, payment for books for the "Minnebroeders, die men hen heeft geschoncken tot een vereeringe voor datse onse kercke hebben geprovi-deert van diversche goede predicanen."

18 FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 13; RAAKASJA R.10, Kerkrekening, 1661, f.10r.

Franciscan preach in Latin at St. Jacob's, in a performance obviously intended for an elite, educated audience.¹⁹ The pastors of St. Jacob's also were expected as part of their duty to deliver sermons on Sundays and feast days. Franciscus van den Bossche, the first true seminary-trained post-Tridentine pastor at St. Jacob's, who held his post 1640–1674, was famous for his eloquence.²⁰ Starting early in the 17th century the fabric of the Cathedral contributed an annual subvention to insure that sermons would be delivered in St. Jacob's during Lent.²¹

It is more difficult to say exactly what parishioners heard. Sermons might be delivered in Latin. But more commonly they conveyed simple messages meant to instill guilt and fear, delivered in well-composed packages lasting no more than an hour.²² Lent and Holy Week were especially important, when contributions to collections peaked in direct response to the sermons. If one can judge by the overflow crowds for Lenten meditations at St. Jacob's that forced a change of venue in 1719 from the Our Lady Chapel to the more spacious nave where people could gather around the pulpit, then it is easy to imagine hundreds of parishioners listening to sermons during Holy Week.²³

It also was traditional in Flemish practice and customary at St. Jacob's to attach images of Christ's passion to the pulpit during Lent and Holy Week as visual displays of the preacher's theme. In Pieter Bruegel the Elder's design for an engraving of *Faith* a small Crucifixion group crowns the sounding board over the head of the preacher. Starting 1605 St. Jacob's affixed a Crucifixion painted in watercolor on canvas to the pulpit when the passion was preached. By 1620 the Lenten custom changed to a crucifix with the figure of Christ carved in palm wood. We will see later (chapter 3) that sculptor Ludovicus Willemssens continued this tradition in the masterpiece he carved 1673–1674 to replace St. Jacob's pulpit of 1585.²⁴

During sermons listeners gathered around the pulpit in a particular order that demonstrated community support for the church and sorted out the cur-

19 Goris 1940, 111, cites the report of Adam Samuel Hartmann who visited Antwerp in 1657. Storme 1991, 177, observes that preachers sacrificed accessibility in order to hold the attention of sophisticated urban audiences.

20 Marinus 1995, 145, on the importance of preaching among the duties of Antwerp pastors; Theodoor van Lierus in *Graf-en Gedenkschriften* 1863, XLVII, on Van den Bossche's fame as preacher.

21 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening, 1601–1602, f.36r., receipt of 12 guilders for the purpose.

22 Storme 1991, 169–185.

23 RAAKASJA B.52.

24 RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115; Feb. 17, 1798: 1: f.7v.: "Dans la grande nef une chaire à prêcher schulpité suported par quatre figures, orne des plusieurs anges et crusifie/ le tout en bon etat." Van Lierus 1855, 176, reports that the present Crucifixion was added in 1844.

rent social pecking order. Starting in 1587 wealthy parishioners paid to reserve fixed locations where women of the family would sit on “Jouffrouwen gestoelte” (ladies’ chairs).²⁵ These could be pews built against pillars facing towards the pulpit, or portable chairs set down on designated spots rented each year. Once again it proves impossible to accept the claim that Protestant churches introduced a distinctive innovation. Pews set against pillars and facing the pulpit comprised an important element in Catholic churches as well.²⁶

At St. Jacob’s a special pew was built against the transept pillar, reserved for the burgomaster and churchwardens when they attended sermons.²⁷ A few other privileged merchants could sit in their own pews. But even the name “ladies’ chairs” indicates that the sexes were separated to some degree. Pieter Bruegel the Elder already depicted that kind of arrangement in his 1559 allegory of Faith where more than half the figures are shown listening intently to a sermon. Women, piously veiled, occupy the inner circle while the men stand or sit around the outer rim.²⁸ However, the division in Flemish churches never approached the rigid partition with wooden screens that Carlo Borromeo tried to impose in Milan.²⁹ In Peeter Neefs the Younger’s 1653 picture of St. Jacob’s, women sit on “ladies’ chairs,” but others stand around the pulpit adjacent to men, in mixed groups and couples.

It is obvious that the reservation of pews also created the opportunity for people to confirm in public their places in the social hierarchy. Exclusive in

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- 25 RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening Jan. 1, 1587–Dec.31, 1588: f.10r.–11r.: “Anderen ontfanck van gestoelten oft plaetshueren inde kercke gestaen: “total of 191 guilders; Milanese merchant Jan Zanoli paid 40 guilders for a pew built against the pillar across from the Rockox Chapel, reserved for all the women in his immediate family, wife, daughters, and sisters, for as long as they would live in the parish; RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1603–1604: f.10v.: “Anderen ontfanck van Jouffrouwen gestoelte, oft plaetshuere inder kercken gestaen”.
 - 26 See Van Swigchem et al. 1984, 219, who state that Catholics may have used choir stalls: “maar pilaargestoelten waren er niet, omdat aan de voet van de pijler of de kolom een altaar werd geplaatst. Vooral was nieuw de protestantse oriëntatie op de preekstoel.”
 - 27 RAAKASJA R.6, Kerkrekening 1587–1588, f.51v., May 23, 1587, payment to carpenter for building a pew “aen den grooten pilaer het welck geordonneert was voor den borgermeester in te sitten om tsermoon in te hooren gel. hy daer dagelyckx quam sitten ende oyck om de kerckmeesters daer inne te sitten.”
 - 28 Jürgen Müller in Orenstein 2001, 177–179, nos. 64–65, states the polarized view of Catholicism and Protestantism. Müller sees the importance of the sermon, the dove of the Holy Spirit, and the book of the Gospel, as a possible expression of a “spiritualist stance, one that values the reading of the Bible more highly than observance of the sacraments.” On the contrary, Bruegel’s allegory accurately depicts the central place of the sermon in early modern Catholic worship.
 - 29 De Boer 2001, 108–109.

themselves to anyone standing outside the circle, the rented chairs conformed to an internal order that marked degrees of status. At least one woman reserved the next available among the seats opposite the pulpit, most desirable and expensive.³⁰ By 1603–1604 the subscription list for the “Juffrouwen gestoelte” could easily have matched a contract of investors for one of the merchant ventures launched by St. Jacob’s wealthy parishioners.³¹

This select group, with its prominent representation from the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian nations, stabilized and expanded during the following years. In 1609–1610, twenty families rented ladies’ chairs, amounting to a small but steady source of income for the church, and the sum increased during the next three decades.³² After completion of the choir vaults in 1642, regular income from “jouffrouwen gestoelten” disappeared and there is only scant trace of them after that time. By the 1660s the churchwardens actively sought to remove all clutter that would spoil the perfection of the nave (see below, chapter 3, for this new ideal of ornament), including pews set on the north side. Apparently portable benches replaced them. An inventory taken in 1700 lists twenty-four small and twenty-six large benches in the nave. By 1798 the number had increased to sixty-one.³³

30 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1603–1604, f.11v.: wife of Basillu de Grassis inde Lombarde, has paid 10 guilders a year for a seat, on condition that she would get the next available opposite the pulpit.

31 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1603–1604: listed are Catherina de Moy, member of one of Antwerp’s most powerful families [see Baetens 1976, I, 290], the daughters of Spanish merchant Juan Fernández de San Vittores [Pohl 1977, 276]; the wife of leading merchant Fernando Hellemans [Baetens 1976, I, 177–182, assuming this is Ferdinand Helman]; the wife of Gerbrant Fredrickx [Baetens 1976, I, 290]; the wife of burgomaster Jacques Dassa in the pew formerly occupied by the wife of burgomaster Eduard van der Dilt [Prims 1982, VI-A, 185]; wife of the merchant-banker and consul of the Portuguese nation Duarte Ximenes [Pohl 1977, 81–82]; wife of Loys van de Werve, knight [Prims 1982, VI-A, 197]; wife of alderman Jacques de Sainte-Croix [Prims 1982, VI-A, 185; wife of Joos Hustin future churchwarden; Magdalena Hockaert widow of Jan Doncker [Van Lerius 1855, 164]; wife and sisters of Milanese merchant Jan Zanoli [Baetens 1976, I, 222]; wives of the brothers Simão and Nicolão Rodrigues d’Evora, both consuls of the Portuguese nation; the widow of Diego Pardo who occupied one of the finest houses in the Langenieuwestr. [Pohl 1977, 284, n.74]; wife and sisters of Genoese merchant Bartolomeo Balbi [Baetens 1976, I, 220]; Clara Singels, wife of Genoese merchant Nicolas Sivori [Baetens 1976, I, 222].

32 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1609–1610, f.7v.–9r., 230 guilders; RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1617–1618, f.11r.–12v., 240 guilders 14 stiivers; RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1635–1636, f.2v.–3r., 376 guilders; Kerkrekening 1641–1642, f.5v., 352 guilders.

33 RAAKASJA 1168, f.9r.: inventory of the church 1700; RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115: 1, f.7v.

It has been argued persuasively that during the 17th century the aggregate of pulpits in Catholic churches amounted to the one potent mass medium that could reach the entire population of the South Netherlands.³⁴ That was certainly the case when, in 1686, economic theorist Pieter Cardon wanted to warn the country that it had become the helpless victim of other nations' predatory mercantilism. Only preachers from their pulpits at Sunday services could sound the alarm to all the people.³⁵

2.3.2 *Pipe Organ*

After the pulpit, a working pipe organ took precedence. In 1589 private gifts that might have been used for construction or to buy a new high altar retable were spent instead on the new organ. A parish wide collection directly involved the broader community.³⁶ Three years later, in 1592, organ maker Guillem van Laer built a new instrument for 650 guilders, and the church hired an organist at an annual salary.³⁷ Not satisfied, and intent on equipping the new choir space under construction at this time, merchants and citizens in 1603 contributed again to pay for a more modern, bigger organ, built by Daniel Bader.³⁸ Documents and contemporary views locate this impressive instrument with its elaborately painted shutters directly to the right of the old rood-screen, mounted on the south transept wall over what then was a section of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel (fig. 2.3).³⁹ Like the pulpit and other ornaments built during these first decades after the Catholic restoration, the 1603 organ

34 Storme 1991, 208.

35 Cardon 1686 (1699), 13–14.

36 RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1 Jan. 1589–31 Dec. 1590, f.6r.; f.7v. The parish collection brought 333 guilders.

37 RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1 Jan. 1591–1 Jan. 1593, f.29v., f.31r. For specifications see Peeters and Vente 1971, 106.

38 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1603–1604, f.10r.; f.37v: expenditures for the new organ, to Daniel Bader who made the new organ, also to joiner, carpenter, smiths who installed it: total cost: 1,303 guldens—17 stivers [see fol.72 of the Kasboek, RAAKASJA R.27., for details]. Peeters and Vente 1971, 138, state that Bader only repaired the organ in St. Jacob's.

39 Baisier 2008, I, 144, oil on panel, attributed to Sebastian Vrancx, last recorded in an auction at the Galerie Giroux, Brussels, May 3–5, 1927, nr.361; 152, attributed to Peeter Neefs the Elder, oil on panel, most recently at Shannons Fine Art Auctioneers, Oct. 1998. Payments for a stained glass window installed in 1622 confirm this position: RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1621–1622, under extraordinary gifts: f.6r.: Jan. 16, 1622, from Jeronimus Caelheyt, 300 guilders for "stellen van een gelasch boven de orgel" (installation of the glass over the organ); f.22r.: April 10, 1622: 120 guilders for the glass donated by Caelheyt made by Pieter van der Veken, to be placed above the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.



FIGURE 2.3

Peeter Neefs the Elder. Nave of the St. Jacob's Church from west to east, detail of pipe organ on the right, adjacent to roodscreen.

was later replaced when the churchwardens, starting around 1660, implemented their new plan to decorate the church (recounted in chapter 3).

2.3.3 Bells

Protestant Dutchman Johann Huizinga, in the famous opening chapter of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, called to mind the pervasive sound of church bells as the first experience that distinguished life in late-medieval cities from the silence that fell with the Reformation.⁴⁰ In the Catholic South Netherlands after 1585 that change was reversed. If bells had been melted down by the Calvinists to make cannons, new ones were cast.⁴¹ In the mid-1790s, 137 church bells still rang out through the city of Antwerp, and this does not count the loss of many bells already removed from towers of the convents suppressed by the Austrian Hapsburgs and then by the French occupation government.⁴²

⁴⁰ Huizinga 1919 (1957), 6; Huizinga 1996, 2.

⁴¹ Harline and Put 2000, 17, on melting down the baptized bells of St. Rombout's in Mechelen and recasting them as cannons, referring to Laenen, *Histoire de l'église métropolitaine*.

⁴² My count made from the census of bells taken by the French occupation government: RAA, PA: A: 96: 13: folder titled: Transmet l'état général du nombre de cloches qui existent dans ce Canton [Anvers] Le 21 Nivose an 6e. Bells also are recorded in the inventories of suppressed convents. For example in the Abbey of St. Michiel twenty-two bells, large and small, were found: RAA, PA 88: 1: Le 23. Brumaire 5e année, "Au clocher, seize cloches, grandes & petites." RAA, PA 82: 3: fol.1r: Département des deux Nethes, Canton et Commune d'Anvers, Abbaye de St. Michel, Inventaire des effets et ustensiles existant à

When these hundreds of bells rang in unison they filled the city with a wave of vibration palpable in its force, bringing the glory and majesty of heaven down to hover just above the earth, a true architecture of sound. But the greatest concentration that formed the core of sound in the center of the city rang out from the bells and carillons in the towers of the Cathedral and St. Jacob's that still answer each other today in mighty response. Four or five bells chimed from the towers of the other parish churches. At the Cathedral two carillons rang with seventy-six and the carillon of St. Jacob's with twenty-seven, joined by the two great bells of the Cathedral and the six of St. Jacob's.⁴³

Bells, like organs, vividly symbolized the community and attracted fervent support from the parish. A collection taken up by St. Jacob's pastor on August 16, 17, and 19 of 1605, brought in 376 guilders to pay for the great new bell weighing 5,678 pounds and cast August 18 by foundry-master Franchois Pelgrom Hendricxz. When it was christened St. Jacob on September 4, the "godparents" along with notable parishioners contributed another 425 guilders, more than enough to cover the total cost of 588 guilders.⁴⁴ Purchase of new and replacement of old bells continued regularly into the 18th century, with parish collections held again for the purpose in 1768 and 1770.⁴⁵

The carillon was in play as well by 1626 when ten small bells cast by Gregorius van Hal were installed.⁴⁶ In 1655 twenty-five bells for the carillon were

l'abaye de St. Michel les quels n'ont pas été inventoriés par les commissaires de la direction des domaines nationaux le present inventaire fait le vingt six frimaire 5me année républicaine conformément à la loi du 15 fructidor dernier: à la tour 12. sept petite cloches en plus.

43 RAA, PA: A: 96: 13.

44 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1605–1606: f.21v.–22r.: income from donations for the new large bell "genaemet sint Jacob, die hergoten is geweest den 18 Augusten 1605, wegende 5678 ponden" from the "ommegeaen lanx de prochie met mynne heeren den opper ende onder pastores, van den gemeynthe binnen de dry daghen, te weten, 16, 17 ende 19 Augusten 1605:" 376 guilders. On Sept. 4, 1605 when the bell was christened "vande peteren ende meteren mitsgaders andere notabelen personen ende de gemeynthe, tsamen 424 guldens—12 stuyvers."

45 RAAKASJA 216, July 21, 1768: request from churchwardens of St. Jacob's to the Antwerp Magistracy for permission to hold a collection for casting new bells and to melt down old bells. RAAKASJA 217, request from St. Jacob's pastor, Gaspar Wouter, to the Antwerp Magistracy for permission to hold a weekly collection in the parish for replacement of the bell: permission granted February 21, 1770. On the St. Jacob's carillon in the 18th century see most recently Spiessens 2001.

46 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1625–1626: f.22r.: payment to Gregorius van Hal for four little bells for the carillon: 162 guldens—8 stuyvers: for six more little bells: 188 guldens—2 stuyvers.

transferred from the Cathedral to the tower of St. Jacob's, where they entertained the people of the parish "with the sweet modulations of tintinnabulation."⁴⁷ Payments to the carillonneur remained steady throughout the 17th century, and in 1734 parishioners subscribed to a list for restoration of the carillon, so that music might grace the life of their neighborhood.⁴⁸

It is hard to imagine not only the cumulative volume of the bells and their sacred personification, but also the frequency with which they were rung. A clockwork at St. Jacob's rang the hours of the day, keeping time for workers and others in the district who could not afford expensive clocks or watches.⁴⁹ According to a schedule set by the Cathedral Chapter, the bell-ringer was obliged each day to ring for the divine offices in the morning, votive masses, high mass, vespers, lauds, and for the sermon whenever it was preached. He also rang the "prayer bell" morning, noon, and night, and at the elevation of the host in the high mass, prompting the parish faithful to recite prayers learned by heart. The ringing of the church bells also marked feast days throughout the year, from New Year's Day to Christmas.⁵⁰ During 1619–20 bell-ringer Cornelis van den Broeck earned 76 guilders a year for this work.⁵¹ On extraordinary occasions, such as announcing prayers to celebrate the Catholic victory of Prague

47 RAAKASJA 61: Kladboeken der Rekeningen 1655–1666: 1655, f.108v.: "notitie vande clocken vande kermis bayaert van Onze Lieve Vrouwe door de meesters van de kercke van St. Jacob ontvangen op dese stats waege ende gewegen als wecht," giving weights and numbers of the bells. During the festivities in 1657 celebrating the establishment of the chapter of canons at St. Jacob's "Interim Jacobea turris populam recreabat dulci tintinnabulorum modulamine (a paucis enim fuerat e Mariana turri, melioribus loco repositus, ad jacobeam translata)." RAAKASJA 2797, Actorum Capituli liber I, 1656–1675, p.81.

48 RAAKASJA R.12., Kerkrekening 1674: f.8r.: payment of annual wages to carillonneur. RAAKASJA R.87., 1734, subscription list for restoration of the carillon.

49 As one example of the constant expenditures for maintenance and replacement of the clockwork: RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1627–1628: f.14v.: to Louis vander Elsfoort clock maker "op den nieuwen voorslach hem doen macken voor dese kercke 1,291 guldens—9 stuivers." The French Republic in its campaign to silence church bells allowed an exception for the ringing of the hours which was thought useful to the public: RAA, PA: A: 96: 13, f.1v. C.J. Peltiers, Minister of the Roman Catholic Cult, in a letter of 22 fructidor, an 9, argued that restoring the clock of the former Dominican Church would provide an essential service to the people, "l'Eglise étant située dans une section, habitée pour la plupart par des ouvriers, qui doivent se trouver a leur atelier aux heures déterminées."

50 Van den Eynden 1887–1888, II, 41: "Reglement voor den klokkluyder van St. Joriskerk Ao 1607:" from St. Joriskerk archive. *Het Gulden Paradys* 1762, 13, 15, gives prayers to say when "de Bede-klok" rings morning and noon.

51 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1619–1620: f.28r.

at the White Mountain in 1620, he received extra fees.⁵² Tolling of bells was central as well to the funerals that earned considerable income for St. Jacob's.⁵³

The sound of bells, along with the display of images and the movement of processions through the streets, signaled forcefully the Catholic Church's recovery of dominance in the South Netherlands.⁵⁴ The mortal enemies of the Church—Calvinists before 1585 and the French Republic after 1794—silenced the bells exactly for this reason.

In the first decades after the Catholic restoration of 1585 St. Jacob's churchwardens spent their scarce resources on what they considered necessities. Parishioners could hear the word of God preached from the new pulpit. A citywide renewal of processions required the new image of St. James, patron of the church. After the Calvinist partition had been torn down, a Calvary could mark the choir as the most sacred location of St. Jacob's, where mass was celebrated on the high altar. Music from the pipe organ could accompany services and processions inside the church. Marten de Vos's altarpiece would excite devotion for St. James and strengthen Catholic resolve in the face of Protestant enmity. Bells would summon the community outside to worship and prayer and mark time in sacred intervals. Each renovation answered an immediate and pressing need. But the churchwardens waited until 1599 before they agreed on a unified concept to expand the choir. While implementing that plan during the next decade they also developed a more systematic concern for decoration that fixed the pattern of ornament in St. Jacob's until a new design replaced it around 1660.

2.4 Principles of Ornament Around 1600

A clear view of the artistic principles that guided St. Jacob's approach to ornament between 1585 and 1617 is opened by the record of meetings held 1595–1596 to choose the best among several designs submitted for a new fence to

52 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1619–1620: f.27v.: Dec. 29, 1620, for ringing “tsavonts ende het looff als wanneer te deum laudamus werde gesonghen vande victorie van Praeghe: 1 gulden—4 stuyvers.”

53 Reglement 1685, 12, “Choorlyck in d'andere 4 Parochie Kercken der Stadt Antwerpen:” “voor ider poise van het groot geluyt negen-en-twintigh stuyvers, is voor dry poisen t'samen vier guldens ende seven sts.” Fewer peals were permitted for cheaper funerals.

54 RAA PA: A: 96: 14: f.1r: Central Administration of the Department des deux Nethes to Municipal Administrations of the Canton Anvers 11 floreal, an 6: demanding strict execution of law prohibiting ringing of bells: “Les partisans des prêtres insoumis ont entendu avec joie le son des cloches, qui a été toujours un signe extérieur de culte.”

enclose the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.⁵⁵ Although the churchwardens continued to build the church in Gothic, at the same time the artistic style for describing, choosing, and designing the new ornament of a chapel enclosure could be termed “antique” in its variety of aspects.

First, the stated goal of the meetings was to select the design that would be “most useful, most splendid, and most fitting to enclose the chapel of the Venerable and Blessed Sacrament.” These terms individually and as a group—utility, decorum, and beauty—depend on critical principles at the heart of Vitruvius’s *De architectura* that were introduced into the Netherlands during the second half of the 16th century through a sequence of translations and adaptations.⁵⁶ By 1595 a new critical framework, derived from antiquity, structured the discourse on ornament. For the same reason, in 1598 sculptors Robert and Jan De Nole could use the vocabulary of the ancient Greek and Roman architectural orders to describe the pillars, friezes, capitals, architrave, cornice, and pedestals of the retable for the altar of the New Longbow Guild in Antwerp Cathedral that they had skillfully designed to imitate the current practice of Italian, antique-style architecture.⁵⁷

Second, joiner Otmaer van Ommen the Elder, who led the deliberations for the Sacrament Chapel enclosure, put his stamp on the ornamentation of St. Jacob’s during these decades. On account of the distinct manner in which he worked, Van Ommen was listed in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke as an “antique carver,” and he was even referred to with the professional sobriquet “Antiek.”⁵⁸ This “antique” work agreed with the intricate decorative variations on the ancient architectural orders that Hans Vredeman de Vries, during his years in Antwerp, disseminated widely through engravings intended as ornamental models for architects, sculptors, and joiners.⁵⁹

55 FAA PK 3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 10, “Item soe men met Mr. Otmaer ende anderen meesters van scrynwerckers ten diversche reysen ten by syne van allen de meesters vergadert is geweest soe om te consulteren op diversche patroonen ende wat werck nutste heerelykste ende bequaemste tot daffsluyten van den choir van den hoochweerdigen heyligen Sacramente saude mogen bevonden worden. . . .”

56 Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*, book 1, chaps. 2–3 for the most important statement of principles and definitions. See De Jonge and Ottenheym 2007, 111–122, on the tradition of imaginative modern variations of Vitruvian rules into which the work of Otmaer van Ommen fitted.

57 Casteels 1961, 260, contract of Feb. 25, 1598.

58 Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1961, 1, 328–329.

59 Herremans 2006–2007, 1, 33, makes this connection; for the larger context see Konrad Ottenheym, “Architectura Moderna. The Systematization of Architectural Ornament Around 1600,” in De Jonge and Ottenheym, eds., 2007.

Van Ommen's work in this vein set the pattern of ornament that dominated in St. Jacob's until the 1620s. It is impossible to measure the impact of the high altar retable that he installed in 1594 because it was replaced without a trace in 1605, a year after the choir had been expanded (see below for this). But the exemplary model that Van Ommen crafted still is visible in the retable he and joiner Jan van Suppoly (Van Ommen's son-in-law) fashioned for the chapel of the Sawyers Guild in 1617. (fig. 2.4. see below chapter 8, for the details of this work). Van Ommen, working in the chosen material of wood, divided the retable into three separate parts; the base with its predella, the field of the altarpiece triptych capped by a heavy entablature in its highly decorative adaptation of the Doric order, and at the top, an "upper work" standing over the cornice that projects sharply from below. Gilded scrollwork, cartouches, and imaginative variations on Doric metopes enliven the surfaces of the "upper work" around the deep niche that contains an image of the Virgin and Child. That lively surface design and the obelisk finials at the sides all reproduce the characteristic elements of the current "antique" style with its modern inventive play based on the ancient architectural orders.

In its detail, and more decisively, in its sharply delineated rectangular proportions and outline, perspicuous from a distance, Van Ommen's retable for the Sawyers Chapel stamps out the configuration of design that repeated itself down the nave in the other chapel retables installed from the 1590s through the 1610s. Most of these were replaced later in the century. But the desired effect of staccato, rhythmic unity still is caught in the Sawyers Guild retable, in the retable of the Peat Carriers Chapel further down the north aisle, and in a view painted during the 1630s of the now vanished altar retable for the Our Lady Chapel that closed the movement of the eye at the end of this perspective (fig. 2.5, fig. 2.6; for more on these retables, see below, chapters 8 and 6).⁶⁰

2.5 Ornamenting the Choir 1599–1650s

That "antique" pattern of ornament, authoritative until the late 1650s, cohered around plans to expand the choir, conceived in 1599 and implemented 1603–1604 (see above, chapter 1). A new roodscreen built 1603–1604 (then replaced during the 1660s), did most to define the appearance and use of parish space. It separated the choir as the inner sanctum of the parish clergy from the nave and the more public areas of the church.⁶¹ Mid-century views capture the

60 Baisier 2008, I, 144–151, on the date and contents of Vrancx's picture.

61 See Baisier 2008, I, 103–109, who links documentation of the 1604 roodscreen to her discussion of Peeter Neefs the Younger's 1659 Interior of St. Jacob's, sold at Christie's in 1984.



FIGURE 2.4 *Otmaer van Ommen and Jan van Supploy. Retable of the Sawyers Guild Chapel, 1617.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 2.5 *View of north aisle from west to east with the Sawyers Chapel retable at left and the Peat Carriers Chapel retable the third in from the left.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

roodscreen's position at the vanishing point of a perspective down the center of the nave (see above, fig. 2.3, for a good detailed visual record of this roodscreen).

St. Jacob's roodscreen was far simpler in design and material than the richly ornamented marble and alabaster roodscreen built for Antwerp Cathedral between 1597 and 1600.⁶² At St. Jacob's wooden columns were painted red to simulate marble, and sculptural decoration was limited to the angels carved in relief on the spandrels over the archway portal to the choir.⁶³ In both churches however, the roodscreens established a new mode of ornament at the visual center by replacing older, Gothic structures with the round arches, columns, and entablatures of "antique" style. St. Jacob's spare use of these elements agreed with the slender proportions and sharp edges of the nave chapel retables, balustrades, and pulpit as they were built and planned until well into the 1640s.

62 Steppe 1952, 274–279.

63 Baisier 2008, I, 104, n.461, cites the sale in 1671 of wooden columns from the old roodscreen after the new one had been built.



FIGURE 2.6 *Sebastian Vrancx (attributed). Nave of the St. Jacob's Church from west to east. C.1635. Detail, with the enclosure and retable of the Lady Chapel visible in the background on the left.*

The old roodscreen at St. Jacob's served its traditional purpose, to fence off the exclusive precinct of the choir and high altar, reserved for clergy who would chant the divine offices. But it is notable that all 17th-century views of it show the roodscreen doors wide open, so that worshippers could see the high altar within and kneel in veneration of the consecrated host always present there. Facing outwards into the communal, parish space of the nave, the roodscreen also contained two side altars that stood as surrogates for the less accessible high altar. The south altar (on the viewer's right) was dedicated to Saints George and Cornelis.⁶⁴ That on the north side, dedicated to The Three Kings (perhaps replacing the Crèche altar that stood there 1568–1570), was decorated lavishly 1605–1608 with a triptych by Jan Snellinck (now lost).⁶⁵

64 RAAKASJA 57, f.23r, 1616: masses donated to “den autae van St. Joris en St. Cornelis onder het ocsael aen de Zuytsyde.”

65 RAAKASJA R.7, Kerkrekening 1605–1606; Kerkrekening 1607–1608: “25 June 1607: “aen Hans Snellinck schilder voor t'schilderen van t'groot paneel mette deuren ende de dry cleyne paneelkens van den altaer van de Dry Coninghen.”; art dealer Cornelis van Dalem

Along with Antwerp Cathedral and St. Jacob's, numerous churches in the city and region devoted a significant portion of their still scarce resources to building new roodscreens and also choir stalls in the decades following the Catholic restoration of 1585. Because so many of these works since have been dismantled, it is easy to overlook their importance for the implementation of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands. Roodscreens obviously were necessary for churches of regular orders and chapters where monks, nuns, and canons fulfilled their duty to chant the divine offices in the choir. Indeed, the Council of Trent, among its reforms of the Catholic Church, insisted that canons in collegiate chapters should in person gather "...in the choir instituted for psalmody, to praise the name of God reverently, distinctly and devoutly in hymns and canticles."⁶⁶ But urban parishes also reaffirmed the central place of the divine offices in Catholic worship by restoring roodscreens the Calvinists had damaged, building new roodscreens in the current "antique" style, and by furnishing the clergy with new choir stalls for their services. In Antwerp after 1585, St. Jacob's sister parish churches, St. Joris and St. Andries, also built new roodscreens and choir stalls in order to restore "the perfect service and honor of God."⁶⁷

After building the roodscreen, in 1605 St. Jacob's churchwardens commissioned a new high altar retable that would do justice to the expanded space of the choir. Although it in turn was replaced by Artus Quellinus the Younger's masterpiece of 1684–1685 (still in situ, see below, chapter 3), a detailed contract with panel maker Hans van Haecht records the elaborate design of the structure that he was charged to assemble.⁶⁸ Over the altar Van Haecht would install a pedestal, two new panels for the altarpiece (see below), pillars and pilasters, and at the top a tabernacle in which to set the image of St. James, with

(see below, chapter 5 for more on Van Dalem) supplied panels and frame for 120 guilders; Clara Cantellen's gift of 40 guilders and the sale of the old painted altarpiece for 60 guilders helped defray the total expenses of 226 guilders; Kerkrekening 1605–1606; Kerkrekening 1607–1608, f.10r. and f.11v.; RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1625–1626: "Betaelt aen Servaes Collijns voor het setten van anderen thuijn aen Drij Coningen onder docsael van St. Anne gebrocht voor arbeitj met wat nieu werckx als per rekeninge 9 gl.;" RAAKASJA R.5., Kerkrekening 1568–1569, mentions "den outaer van Kinderbedde neffens den hoogen choor op de noortsijde;" also 118 and 123, RAAKASJA R.52., Kladboek 1570–1571, indicating dedication to the Trinity as well. No subsequent record of this altar is known.

66 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 202, Twenty-Fourth Session. Reform, Chapter XII.

67 Baisier 2008, I, 166–167, for St. Joris; Visschers 1853–1860, I, 102, for St. Andries which paid Otmaer van Ommen to build their roodscreen in 1611.

68 Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1961, I, 332–333, transcription of contract between Van Haecht and St. Jacob's churchwardens for the new retable, Sept. 7, 1605.

volute and a cornice on which would stand two St. James Brothers (members of the confraternity that ran the pilgrims' hospice from which St. Jacob's was founded), all of it to be gilded, silvered, and painted in polychrome as befitted so splendid a work.

As for De Vos's altarpiece with *The Martyrdom of St. James*, Van Haecht was responsible for cutting it down "four square" to fit into the new frame, which may explain why Jesus does not appear now in the transfiguration at the top. Ambrosius Francken the Elder completed the project 1609–1610 when he painted the shutter panels that Van Haecht had supplied several years earlier.⁶⁹ In the closed position the wings show the night scene of the agony in the garden, where James, Peter, and John sleep as Christ prays (Matthew 26: 36–46: as currently mounted the two panels are switched from their correct positions left and right so that Christ and the angel actually face away from each other rather than meeting in the center: fig. 2.7). When open, the left wing depicts Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (it is reputed that she followed James to Spain where she became a saint), and the right displays Christ Raising the Daughter of Jairus (Mark 5: 35–38: see above, fig. 2.1). The theme of James as special, chosen apostle and witness to Christ ties the pictures together.

Although lost, and known best from written documents, a glimpse of Van Haecht's retable may be caught in old black and white photographs of Willem von Ehrenberg's 1666 view of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel and, even better, in J.L. van Gemert's meticulous 18th-century copy after Von Ehrenberg, still owned by St. Jacob's, where the details can be studied close up and in color.⁷⁰ (fig. 2.8: for more on these pictures see below, chapter 5) Here the upper half of the retable is visible with its cornice and ornate tabernacle in early 17th-century "antique" style, housing Huybrecht Beda's image of St. James.

2.6 1626–1660: A New Unified Concept of Ornament that Left Few Traces in the Parish Spaces of the Church

After the effort they made during the first decade of the 17th century to ornament the key parish spaces of St. Jacob's, the churchwardens employed their vastly increased resources, starting in 1618, to finish construction of the church

69 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1609–1610. Francken received 350 guilders. The wings now are inexplicably reversed. Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1864–1876, I, 553, n.2, transcribe the receipt signed by Francken May 24, 1611.

70 For this picture and the copy by Van Gemert, see Baisier 2008, I, 122–134.



FIGURE 2.7 *Ambrosius Francken the Elder. The Agony in the Garden. Wing panels of the former altarpiece for the high altar, closed position, but reversed from their original and proper order.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

(chapter 1). Simultaneously, they developed a more up-to-date and coordinated model for ornamentation, only not in the nave, but rather in the decoration of the new private chapels and ambulatory sections built around the choir from 1626 to 1656. As I will argue in detail (chapter 8), the ornamentation of these chapels, in their enclosure balustrades and altar retables, conformed to a general prototype imposed by the churchwardens that permitted as well variations in color, detail, and choice of patron saint from one chapel to the next. A number of important characteristics distinguished the ornament for these



FIGURE 2.8 *J.L. van Gemert. Copy of Willem von Ehrenberg. View of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in St. Jacob's. Original 1666 (see below, figs. 5.19–5.20). Detail with high altar retable.*

ambulatory chapels from the pattern I have described as dominant in the nave and choir between the 1590s and 1617. First, the altar retables in the ambulatory were built of marble while the earlier retables were assembled out of wood. Second, the new retables introduced a portico frame with slender proportions modeled on the example set in Italian practice for use of the ancient architectural orders, in place of the “modern-antique” inventive style of the older retables with their highly intricate polychrome and scrollwork decorations. Third, the new portico retables framed one single altarpiece picture that was always exposed to view, in contrast with the triptych altarpieces of the older retables, equipped with shutters that could be opened or closed.

Peeter Neefs the Younger's ideal perspective view of St. Jacob's, dated 1659, made an attractive case in picture for using the new marble porticos as the decorative pattern that would unify the nave in the same way they had brought together the ambulatory chapels in one coordinated plan (fig. 2.9).⁷¹

71 See Baisier 2008, I, 103, for documentation of this picture, last recorded in a 1984 auction at Christie's.



FIGURE 2.9 *Peeter Neefs the Younger. The nave of the St. Jacob's Church from west to east. 1659.*

The marble balustrades that Neefs depicted enclosing each nave chapel also reproduced the precedent established in the ambulatory where each chapel enclosure repeated the colors of the stone used to build the retables inside and all the enclosures aligned in continuous lines of sight (see chapters 3 and 8 for discussions of this important and defining element in the decoration of the church). The slender profiles of the nave retables as Neefs showed them would have made it easy to integrate the 1604 roodscreen and the 1585 pulpit into the larger, grid-like pattern.

In the end, the simple portico retable design was used in only two of the nave chapels; the Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel around 1656 and the Holy Cross Chapel in 1665 (see below, chapter 8). Neefs' ideal vision was already outdated when he painted it. By 1660 conditions had changed to demand new solutions. During these years St. Jacob's plunged into a financial crisis from which it emerged triumphant only by pursuing, paradoxically, a strategy of magnificence. The next chapter follows the implementation of that strategy through the tactic of more splendid and richer ornament.

Circa 1660: Crisis and Ornament: The Creation of a New Interior for the Parish Church

3.1 Introduction

In 1659 Peeter Neefs the Younger depicted an ideal view of St. Jacob's that never was realized (fig. 2.9, and above, chapter 2, for a full discussion of this picture). The nave, in his perspective, is ornamented with the "antique" works that actually had been built (the 1585 pulpit and 1604 roodscreen). But in the nave chapels he painted imaginary renderings of the new kind of portico altar that already had been perfected in reality and built to unify the private chapels of the ambulatory constructed between 1626 and 1656 (see below, chapter 8). Although Neefs' picture suggests that this design would set the new standard for the nave chapels as well, only two of them actually were built. Just four years later, in 1663, Willem von Ehrenberg pictured a completely different vision, one that St. Jacob's churchwardens would implement in its general outlines, to fashion the church largely as it appears today (fig. 3.1).

Von Ehrenberg introduced for the first time major new elements that would transform the interior of St. Jacob's. His picture functioned both as a project model and as an advertisement to attract support.¹ A monumental stone roodscreen, with its high entablature decorated by life-sized sculptures set in deep niches, lifted by fat marble columns glistening with reflections against the lustrous surface, replaces the spindly and spare wooden structure built in 1604. Instead of the unadorned pulpit from 1585, Von Ehrenberg depicted a structure in which the base of intertwined angels supports a barrel deeply carved with elaborate figural decorations, and overhead, a sounding board crowned with edges that curve along garlands and cartouches, up and down, in and out. Instead of the sober portico altars that Neefs inserted into the side chapels as a new standard, Von Ehrenberg painted ornate retables, each of which projects a distinctive, lively profile to attract attention, animated by spiraling movements and large-scale sculptures beckoning with their glances and gestures. Indeed, he accurately represented the three new retables that already had been built in the south aisle for the St. Anna, St. Job, and St. Roch chapels (see below, chapter 8). But Von Ehrenberg anticipated only faintly the much more exuberant

1 Baisier 2008, I, 121–122.



FIGURE 3.1

Willem von Ehrenberg. The nave of the St. Jacob's Church from west to east. 1663.

roodscreen and pulpit, the great masterpieces that fill the church today. I will discuss these in the detail they deserve later on in this chapter.

Here, I want to point out how the very styles of the pictures by Neefs and Von Ehrenberg reinforced and participated in the different concepts of ornament that they visualize. In place of the thinly painted, diagrammatic linear grid plotted by Neefs, Von Ehrenberg added weight, volume, and movement through his more dynamic touch that brings out flashes of color reflecting off polished surfaces and dramatic contrasts between light and dark.² In what follows I want to set out the conditions and principles from which the churchwardens could generate that new concept of magnificent ornament in St. Jacob's.

3.2 Financial Crisis, Jesuit Threat, and a New Strategy: 1647–1670

In 1647 the churchwardens attached for the first time to their annual account an appendix of outstanding debt they could not meet with regular income from the church. Most of the debt accumulated through construction of the Rubens and Vincque chapels for which the churchwardens were responsible (see below, chapter 8).³ As debt mounted, income dropped. When plague swept through Antwerp in 1654, the city diverted the annual construction

2 My comparison inadvertently resembles one of the famous contrasts between “Clearness and Unclearness” made by Wölfflin in *Principles of Art History* (Wölfflin 1950, 213–214).

3 RAAKASJA R.g., *Kerkrekening 1647–1648*, f.28r.: February 1647: appended to this account is a: “Staet vande schulden staenden tot laste vande prochie van St Jacob alhier geprocedeert voordien meestendeel over het maecken van twee cappellen, een sacraestyne met een stuck vanden ommeganck.”

subvention it paid to St. Jacob's to care for the poor who lay sick and dying.⁴ In their petitions to retrieve that grant, the churchwardens also lamented a decline in gifts from parishioners who were hard pressed by Antwerp's weakened economy. Two years later, in 1656, income proved insufficient to maintain regular services and the church partly suspended operations.⁵ Desperate, the churchwarden appropriated legacies from foundations for masses in order to finance the debt. It was an extreme measure guaranteed to discourage any further bequests. In 1657 they dispossessed one set of chapel wardens from the St. Roch Chapel and awarded control to a wealthy aristocrat who could pay for a magnificent new retable out of his own pocket, without any cost to the parish (see below, chapter 8).

Indeed, in the same year, 1657, the churchwardens felt the very existence of St. Jacob's threatened. They sued to block construction of a new, second church that Antwerp's Jesuits planned to build close by St. Jacob's, which they feared would siphon off all support remaining in the parish as their dazzled flock rushed to worship with the eloquent Jesuits. In the midst of that citywide crisis it is telling that the Jesuits defended their ambition with the charge that St. Jacob's neglected its parish poor. As noted, the churchwardens attempted to retrieve the subvention that the city had diverted to care for the poor. And, in the next section I will consider St. Jacob's motives at this juncture for trying to persuade the city's almoners that they should take money bequeathed by Nioclaas Rockox for the poor and apply it to perfecting the decoration of the church.⁶

4 FAA, K318.

5 FAA K315; Ambrosius Capello, bishop of Antwerp, December 15, 1656, approval of the erection of the chapter in St. Jacob's: after praising the religious services held at St. Jacob's since time immemorial he observes that: "Nu onlanx door het verminderen vanden offer ende beswaernisse der fabricque mits den Bouw soodanichlyck hebben beginnen te verslappen, dat de selve van nu aff ten deele syn geschorst, ende vervolghens staen, om geheelyck naer gelaeten te moeten werden, ten sy daer tegens behulp middelen werden verdacht." Indeed, the church suspended its financial accounting for 1656.

6 The source that best lays bare the sore points of this conflict is the exchange of vituperative charges between the Antwerp Jesuits and the churchwardens along with the pastor of St. Jacob's, contained in a series of letters written to the Antwerp Magistrate, recorded in the acts of the St. Jacob's chapter: RAAKASJA 2797, 1656–1675: *actorum capituli*: book 1, 38–43. The Jesuits argued that the crisis in St. Jacob's was caused by construction costs "waer inne gesmolten syn fundatien der missen" and should not count against their plan to construct a new church. See Lucas 1997, 1–23, on the worldwide and perennial resistance that secular Catholic clergy mounted against the Jesuits' strategically located encroachments.

In 1659 St. Jacob's kept no official accounts. If the church was to survive and flourish, then the churchwardens would have to consolidate its position as the parish of Antwerp's elite and at the same time expand the popular base. One tactic—to incorporate new institutions such as confraternities and a chapter of canons—will be considered further on, in chapters 7 and 9. A second tactic—to finish the interior in magnificent splendor—implemented a new concept of architectural ornament.

3.3 Architecture and Ornament, Gothic and Antique: Framing the Nave with Chapel Enclosures

The main view of St. Jacob's, looking down the nave from west to east, is defined subtly by the marble fences that enclose each chapel. Although varied in color and detail, the enclosures follow a uniform pattern in material, proportions, and design. They join together in continuous perspective lines of sight that delineate a unified border between the public concourse of the parish church and the private chapels on both sides. (fig. 3.2; fig. 3.3; fig. 3.4). But they are not tall enough to block the light that radiates from chapel windows, or to prevent visitors from easily seeing into the chapels. The enclosures forged a new architectural element that drew distinct boundaries and at the same time created the impression of an expansive and luminous space.

After St. Jacob's set the example, different churches in Antwerp followed suit, sometimes generating conflicts that constrained the participants to articulate their points of view. Between 1673 and 1676, when the Sacrament and Our Lady Chapels in the neighboring parish church of St. Joris removed their old, tall brass and wood enclosure fences that dated from around 1600, the chapel wardens and churchwardens justified the change with arguments supplied by architects, painters, sculptors, and connoisseurs. Dismantling these high barriers would enhance the "clarity and space" of the church and its chapels, display the beauty of the new marble altars built within, and make way for lower enclosures constructed out of that same, more precious material of marble.⁷ At St. Jacob's these change already had been put into effect.

Several documents record how the concept developed. First, in 1648 the signatories to a contract for the enclosure of the St. Roch Chapel—the chapel wardens and pastor as patrons, and Jan van den Cruyce the sculptor—shared a common language of Vitruvian Greek and Roman architectural terms based on the ancient architectural orders (fig. 3.5). Van den Cruyce agreed to construct a

7 Prims and Van Herck 1924, 243–245.



FIGURE 3.2 *View west to east from nave into south aisle showing chapel enclosures on right.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 3.3 *View of south aisle chapel enclosures in continuous perspective from west to east.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 3.4 *View of north aisle chapel enclosures in continuous perspective from east to west.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.5 *Jan van den Cruyce. Enclosure of the St. Roch Chapel. 1648.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

cornice of blue stone, a frieze of white marble, an architrave of blue stone, balusters of white marble, and so on, describing each part as if he were building a Greek temple. Measurements were to reproduce those of the enclosure already built for the Holy Cross Chapel in the north aisle, thus insuring uniformity in scale and proportion by a process of replication.⁸

Next, around 1660, in the midst of the financial crisis I have described above, St. Jacob's churchwardens petitioned the executors of the estate of Nicolaas Rockox to pay for the enclosure of the late burgomaster's family chapel, also in the north aisle of the nave (for the history of this chapel, see below, chapter 8). The churchwardens explained how the "beautiful church had been completed in its construction (in den bouw) and had progressed in its ornaments, among them the marble enclosures erected for all the chapels, up to seventeen in number. However, of the few that still lacked this ornament, one comes under the name and patronage of the very noble lord, Nicolaas Rockox, knight, and former burgomaster of the city." The resulting flaw deformed "so beautiful and well-proportioned a church," especially given the chapel's prominent location opposite the pulpit, and in sight of the "principal view," which it spoiled (fig. 3.6). This imperfection harmed not only the beauty of the church but also the "honor and reputation" of Rockox who, in his lifetime, had been particularly devoted to the embellishment of God's house, "as he often demonstrated in other churches and chapels." No one else, no matter how well intentioned towards the church, could presume to fulfill a responsibility that fell to the great man's legacy. When Rockox's heirs—the city almoners—hesitated to take from the poor to give to the church, St. Jacob's churchwardens asked the executors of the estate to intervene.⁹ Once again they were ready to sacrifice the poor for the sake of their church.

8 RAAKASJA B.48/3, August 7, 1648; transcriptions by Van Lerijs (RAAKASJA (old number 560), bylage 13. Another old copy, Notarissen: G. le Rousseau 2437, fols.35–35v, FAA, is published by J. van Damme, "Documenten betreffende de Antwerpse beeldhouwers Jan en Jan-Anthoni van den Cruys," *Cornelis Floris Jaarboek* (1989), 63–64. Jan van Damme kindly drew my attention to this reference. My transcription of the specifications: "de Cornisse van blauwen steen/ de Fries van witten Marmer/ de Arcketraef van blauwen steen/ de Ballesterkens van witten marmor/ de ronde pilaren van Barbarson steen/ de taeffels mette mollueren oock van blauwen steen/ / de Ingelegde taeffels van witte marmer/ de doorloopende treden oock van blauwe/ de deure met witte marmere Ballusterkens, & de reste gecoloreert/ altemael opde dicke vanden thuijn van het Heijlich Cruijs aultaer Inde voors. kercke."

9 Transcription by Van Lerijs, RAAKASJA (old number 560), 599–601, of a document that is no longer traceable, and dated by him without supporting evidence to ca.1660. The three signatory churchwardens, however, held office together only in 1661: see RAAKASJA 57, Voortganck van St. Jacobs Parochie ofte Derde Eeuwe, 115, 1659, Wils elected, 1660, Colyns



FIGURE 3.6 *Rockox Chapel with its enclosure viewed from south to north, adjacent to the pulpit.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

elected; 117, Van Coevoorden elected. It must in any case postdate 1656 because it refers to St. Jacob's as a "collegiale" church. From the churchwardens of St. Jacob's to the executors of the foundations of Nicolaas Rockox: "Verthoonen reverentlyck de kerckmeesters der collegiale ende parochiale kercke van S. Jacobs hoe dat de selve schoone kercke nu volmaeckte synde in den bouw, boven andere cieraeten, soo verre is geavanceert dat voor alle de capellen der selve, tot seventhien in getal, marmore thuynen syn opgerecht, ende dat onder de seer weynige resterende capellen, die diergelyckx cieraet noch vereyschende syn, eene is op den naeme ende onder de heerschappye van den seer edelen heere Nicolaes Rockox, ridder ende oudt borgemeester deser stadt, van salige ende seer loffelycke gedachtenisse, gestaen int principaelste bynaer van de kerck tegens over den preekstoel, van een schoon auterstuck en andere ciraeten tamelyck voorsien: dan, buyten alle apparentie van tot diergelyck cieraet van eenen marmoren thuyn te geraecken, alsoo de aelmoeseniers deser stadt d'erfgenaemen geweest synde van den voorn. Edelen hr. Rockox, d'oncosten van dit werck tot last van den armen niet en sullen willen onderstaen, ten sy uwe eerw. ende edelheden met hunnen autoriteyt daertoe gelieven te assisteren, waerom soo ist dat de supplianten hun tot de selve syn keerende, als tot de proviseurs ende conservateurs, niet alleenlyck van alle de beneficien van wylen den hr. Rockox ghefondeert, maer oock van syne eere ende reputatie, oodtmoedelyck versoeckend bequaeme middelen hiertoe te willen provideren, t'sy met eenige beneficien tot dien eynde voor eenigen tydt te laeten vaeren, t'sy door hun

Evidently the churchwardens conceived of ornament as following on and perfecting structural construction, not as two separate parts, but rather as consecutive stages of architecture. By controlling the ornament, they could shape the church according to principles of good proportion, calculated lines of sight, perfection of the whole, and preciousness of material (marble). Like Van den Cruyce, the sculptor of the enclosure for the St. Roch Chapel, the churchwardens framed their principles within the Vitruvian, antique, system of architecture that by mid-century had gained currency among the elite throughout the Netherlands.¹⁰ And they persistently adhered to their vision over a span of decades, well into the 1660s when they pressured guilds and families to remove the last high chapel fences and private pews in the aisles that obstructed the unified, harmonious space of nave and aisles.¹¹ But this innovation, applied so consistently, introduced an apparent contradiction with the system of construction—Gothic—in which the church had been built.

That Gothic system of building did however produce a lucid and proportional structure that could accommodate the later antique-Vitruvian ornament. The transition to an explicitly antique style was accomplished successfully by a shift in scale. The structural part of the church is Gothic. Attempts to complete Gothic churches at this scale in antique style spawned misshapen hybrids that compromised the measure and character of both styles.¹² At St. Jacob's ornament on a smaller, human scale imitates the antique. Chapel enclosures on the

authoriteyt ofte pouvoir by de heeren Staeten een dobbel jaer renten te besorgen, t'sy met de gebeneficieerde tot eene cleyne contributie te belasten oft andersints, soo t'UU. EE. Goetduncken ende glieven sal, in consideratie stellende de groote en menichvuldige meriten van den hn. Fondateur der voorsc. Capelle, soo in't regarde der gebeneficieerde, als van de geheele stadt, die hij gedient heeft als vader der gemeynte ende den armen, tot wiens eere sulckx wel convenieert te geschieden, te meer dat, waert saecke hy noch int' leven waere, nu d'andere capellen soo verre geavanceert syn, tot dusdanich goet werck ongetwijfel soude inclineren, als eenen sonderlingen ieveraer voor t'cieraet van t'huys Godts, gelyck hy in vele andere kercken ende capellen menichmael heeft bethoont, oock soude het wesen een groot afsien oft mistant voor eene soo schoone ende geproportioneerde kercke, dat alle andere capellen versien synde van dusdanich cieraet int' principaelste gesicht van de kercke, aen de capelle alleen van eenen persoon van soo groote meriten, t'selve soude comen te ontbreken, want niemant anders, hoe wel hy oock geaffectioneert mochte syn tot voors. Kercke ofte capelle, sal derven presumeren aen de capelle voornoemt dusdanige beneficie te doen."

10 Ottenheym 2007, 137–161.

11 See below, chapter 8.

12 Snaet 2007, 281–282, cites the awkward attempt Jacques Francart made 1642–1652 to graft antique elements onto the already existing Gothic structure of Our Lady Across the Dijle in Mechelen.

aisles, roodscreen at the crossing, and the interior porch of the west entrance frame the nave on all four sides with antique architectural elements conceived in relation to the scale of the human body, and therefore provide the measure at which visitors could take their bearings in the vast space.

3.4 Roodscreen

In 1660 the churchwardens made their first payments for “laying the foundations of the new roodscreen” that would replace the older structure installed in 1604.¹³ They added the new roodscreen as a key part in their strategy to create a dazzling magnificence. Momentum in that direction accelerated when St. Jacob’s chapter of canons, founded in 1656, demanded a grand enclosure for the choir, their inner sanctum, suitable to their dignity (see below, chapter 7). Indeed, a wealthy canon’s gift may have initiated the project, and paid for the first design of the new roodscreen in 1658.¹⁴

I will show later that the extraordinary decision to found a new chapter of canons at this date resulted from St. Jacob’s position in a community of wealthy families caught up in the social climb to aristocracy (chapter 7). A new roodscreen furthered the interests of this conservative and elite organization. At the same time, it ignored the growing opposition against roodscreens orchestrated by the Jesuits who attacked these barriers as obstructions that hid away from the eyes of the faithful the sacred spectacle of mass and consecrated host on the high altar.¹⁵

By starting the new roodscreen in 1660 the churchwardens also took a calculated risk. They might sink the church deeper in debt. But the roodscreen was a necessary part of the larger strategy to clad St. Jacob’s in a garment of magnificent ornament, satisfy the wealthy chapter of canons, and persuade Antwerp’s luxury-loving elite that they should remain loyal supporters of their parish church instead of shifting allegiance to a prospective new Jesuit church.

For that reason, the first outline of a new roodscreen featured prominently in Willem von Ehrenberg’s 1663 perspective of St. Jacob’s that I have interpreted as a project model intended as well to attract donations (see above, fig. 3.1). But when real work on the roodscreen commenced the next year, 1664, a parish-wide collection raised only a fraction of the necessary support.

13 RAAKASJA R.10., Kerkrekening 1660, f.17r.

14 Gift of 210 guilders from canon Franciscus de Wolff, received Aug. 24, 1658: RAAKASJA 971; also see Baisier 2008, I, 136.

15 Steppe 1952, 44–45.

Sculptor-architect Sebastian de Neve and the two churchwardens who accompanied him to Dinant and Barbantson, spent more than the available income to purchase the black stone and eight red-marble columns that would leave so strong a mark on the new monument.¹⁶ Starved of more support, the project languished another five years. A strange entry in the 1667 annual account records that no payments were made for the new roodscreen, probably because all available income was spent on maintaining the high interest costs of long-term debt.¹⁷ Finally, in 1669 St. Jacob's generated "extraordinary income" of almost 17,000 guilders, more than three times the regular income for 1667, and on that basis signed a contract with De Neve to complete the roodscreen.¹⁸

In 1669 year the churchwardens commissioned Willem von Ehrenberg to paint a second "concept" picture, exclusively of the roodscreen, close up and in detail. Probably it was used, like his earlier picture, to solicit gifts (fig. 3.7).¹⁹ Von Ehrenberg captured De Neve's invention in dramatic fashion.

The roodscreen, finished in 1670, comes very close to Von Ehrenberg's representation and is for the most part intact, the last survivor of its kind (fig. 3.8).²⁰ Even though the *Resurrection of Christ* Theodoor Boyermans painted for the north altar was replaced by another picture in 1693 (see below, chapter 9), it is easy to imagine how aptly it matched his *Assumption of the Virgin*, still in place over the altar on the south side of the roodscreen (fig. 3.9).²¹

16 RAAKASJA R.41, Grootboek 1664–1676, f.129r., parish collection raised 604 guilders; f.22v.–23v., expenses for black stone and red-marble columns.

17 RAAKASJA R.10., Kerkrekening 1667, f.17r.: interest payments 1,270 guilders 12 stivers.

18 RAAKASJA R.11., Kerkrekening 1669, f.5v.: extraordinary income from diverse parties for diverse purposes: 16,866 guilders 12 stivers. For the contract see FAA N 4274, Van Nos Senior 1669, f.118r.–v.: April 9, 1669.

19 Baisier 2008, I, 134–142.

20 The one significant difference is that in the north/left altarpiece Von Ehrenberg depicts saints and angels below the Trinity and the Virgin in heaven, in contrast to Theodoor Boyermans' *Resurrection of Christ* that actually was installed in 1670.

21 RAAKASJA R.11., Kerkrekening 1670, f.25r.: "... betaelt aen den lystmaecker van de 2 lysten dienende voor de 2 schilderyen onder het oxael 6 gl. 6 st."; Ditto betaelt aen Theodor Boijermans over twee schilderyen onder het oxael by hem gemaect als per quitantie 100 gl." See below, chapter 9, for Jan-Erasmus Quellinus's Agony of Death altarpiece, still in situ. See RAAKASJA 1168, f.1r: Inventarisatie ende aenteekeninge geschiet op den 29en: november 1700 & naer volgende daegen van alle & Igelycke de naervolgende kerckelycke ornamenten, Ciraten & goederen raeckende de Collegiale & Parochiale kercke van St: Iacob binnen deser stadt van Antwerpen, f.9r–v., where Boyermans' *Resurrection* is recorded under the property of the altar as: "Item een autaeer stuck wesende de Verryssnisse ons heeren hangende in St. Ians cappelle."



FIGURE 3.7 Willem von Ehrenberg. Roodscreen concept. 1669.

Jesus and Mary, both rising from the grave, transcend the sorrow conveyed by the two white marble “heads or figures” of them that De Neve carved to fill the deep black niches above, where Christ crowned by thorns on the left, over *The Resurrection*, is paired with the Virgin on the right, over her *Assumption*, grieving for her suffering child.

As I argue in the Introduction, Boyermans's *Assumption*, in its original location, demonstrates the great care that was taken to harmonize the colors, compositions, and themes with surrounding architecture and sculpture. (see above, fig. 0.3). The dark blue ground picks up the black Dinant stone of the frame. The Virgin's shimmering red mantel and the silvery white of her gown match the red and white marbled columns. Dark, sober, a little bruised and luxurious, these colors dominated the taste in painting and decoration that Antwerp's elite cultivated at this time. In this new, orchestrated program for the preeminent location of the public church, the central figures of Catholic belief, Christ and Mary, replaced the earlier dedications to the Three Kings, St. George, and St. Cornelis.



FIGURE 3.8 *St. Jacob's roodscreen.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 3.9 *St. Jacob's roodscreen close up with busts of Christ and Mary.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

Finishing touches were added in 1670. Wooden balustrades fenced off the altars, and two gilded, wooden candlesticks crowned the rood loft balustrade over each altar. A staircase leads up to the loft, from which St. Jacob's choir of singers and musicians could concertize. De Neve produced a late masterpiece at the end of a centuries-old tradition.

More immediately, St. Jacob's roodscreen descended from a typological line starting at the Praemonstratensian Abbey of St. Michiel in Antwerp, where the roodscreen may have been designed by Rubens. Peeter Verbrugghen the Elder developed this idea further in the Antwerp Dominican Church.²² Only the roodscreen at St. Jacob's survives from among all those built in Antwerp during the early modern period.

St. Jacob's roodscreen completes the principal view down the nave in a triumphal arch of three bays, catching the eye with its color, symmetry, and massive volume. (fig. 3.10). Set between the two eastern piers of the crossing, the façade of the roodscreen also extends the boundary marked by the eastern

²² Steppe 1952, 374–378.



FIGURE 3.10 *St. Jacob's roodscreen viewed from the nave.*
 PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

walls of the two transept arms and thus establishes the major cross-axis of the church, running north-south, perpendicular at the top of the T-cross it forms with the west-east nave (fig. 3.11). It marks the visual center of gravity in the public area of the church.

3.5 The New Pulpit: 1673

Like the new roodscreen, the new pulpit, crafted 1673–1674 by joiner Octavio Henry and sculptor Ludovicus Willemssens, introduced an image of triumphant splendor that transformed the interior of the church (fig. 3.12). In comparison with the simple pulpit of 1585 that it replaced, or even with the design projected by Von Ehrenberg in his perspective view of 1663, the new pulpit fills the center of the nave with movement and gravity. It proclaims even more forcefully the primacy of the word of God that I already have identified as a defining motive in the furnishing of Catholic Counter Reformation churches throughout the South Netherlands. And, like the new roodscreen, the new pulpit stands now as a unique survivor of its kind still intact in the place for which it was made.



FIGURE 3.11 *St. Jacob's roodscreen viewed from the south to the north transept.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

In the contract he signed for the new pulpit in 1673 the joiner Henry promised to reproduce the dimensions of the pulpit installed in St. Walburgis, St. Jacob's sister parish church.²³ To judge by its depiction in Anton Gheringh's 1661 view of St. Walburgis, the earlier work also established a precedent for the metamorphosis of architectural elements into figural decoration that the sculptor Willemssens carried further in St. Jacob's. (fig. 3.13).²⁴

The figures in St. Jacob's pulpit compose together an allegory on the word of God, sophisticated enough to suggest that someone versed in theology

23 RAAKASJA 989/2: "Ick Ottavi Henry schryjwercker heb aengehenomen te maecken eenen preckstoel inde S Jacobs kercke te weten voor mynen arbeydt vande schrynwerkery de som van vyf hondert guldens ende voor het leveren van het houdt tot den selve stoel de som van vier hondert guldens maeck samen neghen hondert guldens ende dat ick de selve stoel bey ghehouden den selve te stellen inde voor noemde kerck volgens den stoel inde Borch kerck." The contract promised Henry 1,023 guilders, which he acknowledged receipt of on March 11, 1677: RAAKASJA 989/14.

24 A drawing by Jan-Peter Baurseheit the Elder, RAAKASJA 1176, previously thought to depict the St. Walburgis pulpit, now is identified with pulpit of the Beguine Church at Lier: see Helena Bussers in *Tekeningen uit de 17de en 18de eeuw* 2000, 120–121, no. 33, and then, 124, n.1, where she opens up the question once again.



FIGURE 3.12 *Octavio Henry and Ludovicus Willemsens. New pulpit. 1673–1674.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

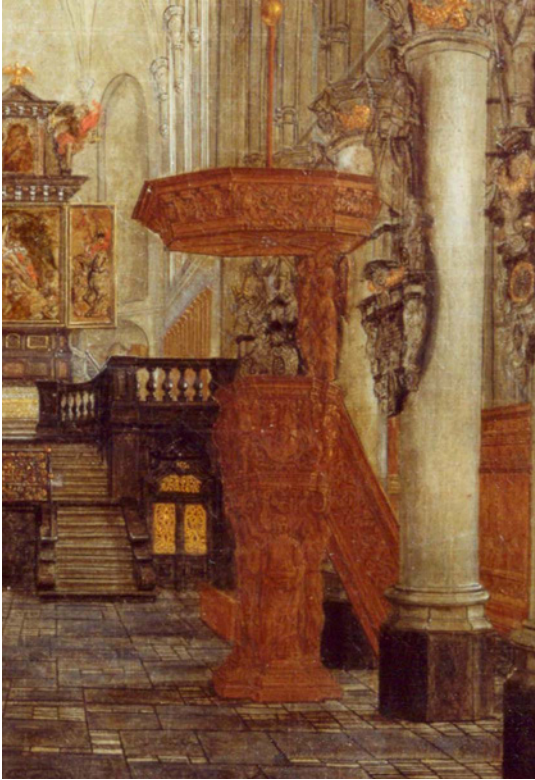


FIGURE 3.13 *Anton Gheringh. The nave of the St. Walburgis Church, Antwerp, from west to east; detail of the pulpit. 1661. Antwerp, St. Paul's.*

devised it. Instead of picturing Christ's sacrifice or Mary's sorrow in animated and true-to-life narratives that would speak directly to the humblest listener, Willemssens composed the equivalent of long and complicated sentences, replete with Latin tags, fashioned in a noble style of restrained movement, decorous ornament, and clear, architectural divisions of parts. It is a rhetorical style more in keeping with the church's elite congregation and with the Latin sermons that we know visitors heard preached in St. Jacob's.²⁵

25 Goris 1940, 111, cites the report of Adam Samuel Hartmann who visited Antwerp in 1657. Storme 1991, 177, observes that preachers sacrificed accessibility in order to hold the attention of sophisticated urban audiences.

Latin inscriptions, carved into the wood and then gilded, identify each of the four personifications who join to support the barrel of the pulpit. Moving beyond these explicit labels, my interpretation of the symbolic meanings rests above all on agreement between the pulpit and matching personifications in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. The overlap is sufficiently consistent and idiosyncratic to prove that the inventors of the pulpit kept Ripa's famous book ready at hand when they chose the attributes of their figures. This confirms once again Émile Mâle's argument that the Counter Reformation developed a standard international repertoire of symbolic imagery strongly influenced by the dissemination of Ripa *Iconologia*.²⁶

In the pulpit the preacher's word rests literally on a foundation of Faith who stands front and center, "FIDES" as she is identified (fig. 3.14). One of the theological virtues, she holds in her right arm the attributes of cross and chalice (fig. 3.15). The consecrated host at the crux of the cross must have held special significance, perhaps as the focus of Lenten preaching, because Willemssens was paid in 1690 to add it, with its gilded rays of supernatural light, and a crucifixion stamped on the holy bread itself, to make explicit the real presence of Christ's body in this sacrament which only Faith can grasp.²⁷ The helmet worn by Faith demonstrates that the true Faith can be kept only by steeling one's intellect against the blows of the enemy; be they the natural reasons of philosophers, or the sophistries of heretics.²⁸ And the laurel crowning her signifies that we conquer through Faith.²⁹ Her victory is further symbolized by the bird of the air crushed under her foot, the hellish enemy who would root out from the soul the seed of God's word, as in the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13: 4–32).³⁰ She raises her left hand to touch Matthew's angel, symbol of one

26 Mâle 1951, 383–428.

27 RAAKASJA 989/16: May 6, 1690: bill and receipt from Willemssens for "aen het voorste belt vanden predickstoel gesneden eenen hostie met stralen ende t selven doen vergulden 2 guldens." Ripa 1644, 149: "Fede Christiana. het Christelijcke Geloof." "En om dat dit het voornaemste van 't Gelove is, in Iesum Christum den gekruysten te geloven, en het Sacrament des Avondmaels te gebruycken, soo issere 't Kruys en de Kelck bygevoeght."

28 Ripa 1644, 147: "Fede Romana Catholica. Catholijck of algemeen Geloof." Faith "draeght een Helm op't hoofd, om te betoonen, dat om het waere Gelove te handhouden, het verstand moet bewaert zijn, voor de slagen van der Vyanden wapenen: 't welck zijn de natuerlijcke reedenen van de Philosophen, en de Sophisteryen der quaeder Christenen."

29 Ripa 1644, 147.

30 The bird refers to the birds of the air who in the parable of the sower eat the seed which represents the word of God: see, for example, *Het Gulden Parady's* 1762, 111, prayer for after the sermon asks God to protect the seed sown in the heart, so that "het de Vogelen des lochts, dat is, de helsche vyanden, daer uyt niet en rooven." Ripa 1644, 148–149, has Faith



FIGURE 3.14 *St. Jacob's pulpit, Faith.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 3.15 *St. Jacob's pulpit, cross with chalice and consecrated host.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

of the four Evangelists, because Faith comes from hearing the preacher speak the word of God.³¹ Even her posture might convey a powerful argument to distinguish the Catholic from the Protestant conception of Faith. She stands, does not sit, to express the necessity of good works, without which, Catholics believed, no one is saved or justified through Faith.³² Foremost among her sister personifications, Faith is the only virtue adorned in a richly decorated robe, and only she wears a jewelled necklace.

Willemssens incorporated the viewer's potential for movement into a process of discovery and gradual revelation. If you glance to the left of Faith in fig. 3.14, you will behold a woman on the left who returns your gaze, although she is partly hidden behind her veil. Only when you walk around to confront her do you discover the radiant face, the sun shining on her breast, the Book of Revelation still closed by seven seals, and realize that she is VERITAS, Truth, as the inscription below tells you (fig. 3.16). Willemssens established the front view of his VERITAS in a fine pen and ink drawing that emphasizes the significant turn of her head (fig. 3.17).³³

On the right of Faith, stands THEOLOGIA looking upward to heaven, and holding a triangle framed by the heads and wings of three cherubs, with the tetragrammaton, God's name, inscribed in Hebrew, thus exemplifying the mystery of the Trinity (fig. 3.18).³⁴ Behind her, and obscured now by the adjacent column in a way that may not have been intended, stands the last of the personifications, INSTRUCTIO, who holds a convex mirror, on the frame of which one reads: ERIS INSPICES CAUTU: If you look here, you will become wise (fig. 3.19). The concept of this personification also depended on the Dutch translation of Ripa.³⁵

trampling one of the little foxes which steal the grapes from the vine, thus heretics who are called foxes for their evil.

31 Ripa 1644, 149: Paul, Romans 10: 17, says "t Gelove komt uyt het gehoor en 't gehoor komt uyt en wordt Gods."

32 Ripa 1644, 149: "Fede Christiana. het Christelijcke Geloof," stands, does not sit, to express what is fitting to her: as St. Augustine and James (Jacob) say, "soo wort door 't Gelove, sonder de wercken, niemant saligh noch rechtvaerdigh, want het Geloof sonder de wercken, is dood."

33 Ripa 1644, 589: "Verita. Waerheyt:" the sun shows she is a friend of light, that is, God, without whose light there is no truth. See Helena Bussers in *Tekeningen uit de 17de en 18de eeuw* 2000, 120–121, no. 33.

34 Ripa 1644, 175: "Theologia. Godgeleertheyd" looks up because divine things are the end of theology; see the commentary on the tetragrammaton in Nadal 2003, 147.

35 Ripa 1644, 362–363.



FIGURE 3.16 *St. Jacob's pulpit, Truth from the front.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 3.17

*Ludovicus Willemsens. Truth. Pen and ink drawing.*ANTWERP, MUSEUM PLANTIN-MORETUS/PRENTENKABINET:
COLLECTIE PRENTENKABINET.

Faith, Truth, Theology, and Instruction open the way to a sound understanding of God's word contained in the four gospels, represented as they are here by the winged symbols of the evangelists who support the corner brackets of the barrel in which the preacher stands: Luke's ox, John's eagle, Matthew's angel, and Mark's lion, from left to right. The three exposed sides of the barrel are decorated each with a framed bust-relief: Christ with gilded halo on the front, St. James wearing his scallop shell badges on the left, and an as yet unidentified saint on the right (fig. 3.20; fig. 3.21; fig. 3.22).³⁶ To the left of Christ stands an angel holding a fluttering banderol on which is written: *DE ASCENSIONE DOMINI*: Concerning the Ascension of the Lord. The scroll held by his counterpart on the right is inscribed with similar gilded letters: *DE INCARNATIONE CHRISTI*: Concerning the Incarnation of Christ. A third angel at the right of the unknown saint displays the inscription: *RESUREXIONE CHRISTI*, while a fourth who greets the preacher at the top of the stairs into the pulpit announces with his scroll the theme: *DE OBLATIONE SANGUINIS IESV*: Concerning the Sacrifice of the Blood of Jesus. These four topics headed many of the sermons delivered during the 17th century.

Under the canopy-like sounding board lifted aloft by two winged angels, the dove of the Holy Spirit descends in a glory to inspire the preacher below, who,

36 Rudi Mannaerts, <http://www.sintjacobantwerpen.be/parochie>, posted Dec. 3, 2014, identifies the saint as St. Roch. I have not found any evidence of the contributions that, according to Mannaerts, link the Brotherhood of St. Roch to decoration of the pulpit.



FIGURE 3.18 *St. Jacob's pulpit, Theology.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.19 *St. Jacob's pulpit, Instruction.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.20 *St. Jacob's pulpit, Busts of Christ and unidentified saint, Angels with inscribed banderols, the Eagle of St. John the Evangelist, the Angel of St. Matthew, and the Lion of St. Mark.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 3.21 *St. Jacob's pulpit, St. James.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.22 *St. Jacob's pulpit, unidentified saint.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

as a Catholic priest, is filled with the Holy Spirit at the time of his ordination³⁷ (fig. 3.23). Atop the canopy, pairs of winged putti-angels hover at the center on each of the three sides, literally trumpeting forth the word of God, as carved lamps at the four corners burn with eternal flame, and the inscription admonishes *Audite Verbum Dei*, Hear the Word of God, adapting the text of Luke 5:1, where crowds follow Christ to the shore of the Lake of Gennesaret “*Ut audirent Verbum Dei*: so that they might hear the word of God” (fig. 3.24).

The meaning of the pulpit therefore unfolds from bottom to top, and this vertical progression incorporates as well the divinely inspired person of the preacher. He ascends to his exalted position up the stairs wrapping around the pillar on the left, guarded by two angels at the bottom, and by the cherubic angel carved on the door above that opens in to the pulpit, holding his inscription *On the Sacrifice of the Blood of Jesus* which indeed only the preacher will see (fig. 3.25; fig. 3.26; fig. 3.27). Standing in the pulpit itself, the preacher, and no one else, could see the relief of Veronica's Veil on the back partition,

37 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 163, Twenty-Third Session, Canons on the Sacrament of Order: Can.4.



FIGURE 3.23 *St. Jacob's pulpit, sounding board from below with the Holy Spirit.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 3.24 *St. Jacob's pulpit, top with trumpeting angels.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

and only he could look down from that elevated and commanding position (fig. 3.28; fig. 3.29).

3.6 The New High Altar

The new pulpit, roodscreen, and private chapel retables on the south aisle completed a plan of magnificent ornament first recorded in Von Ehrenberg's perspective picture of 1663. But during the following decades the churchwardens extended this concept further. Beyond the roodscreen portal into the choir, St. Jacob's reached its climax of architectural decoration in the new high altar built 1684–1685. It was of course fitting that this should be the most splendid



FIGURE 3.25 *St. Jacob's pulpit, bottom of stairs with two angels.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 3.26 *St. Jacob's pulpit, detail of angel at bottom of the stairs.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

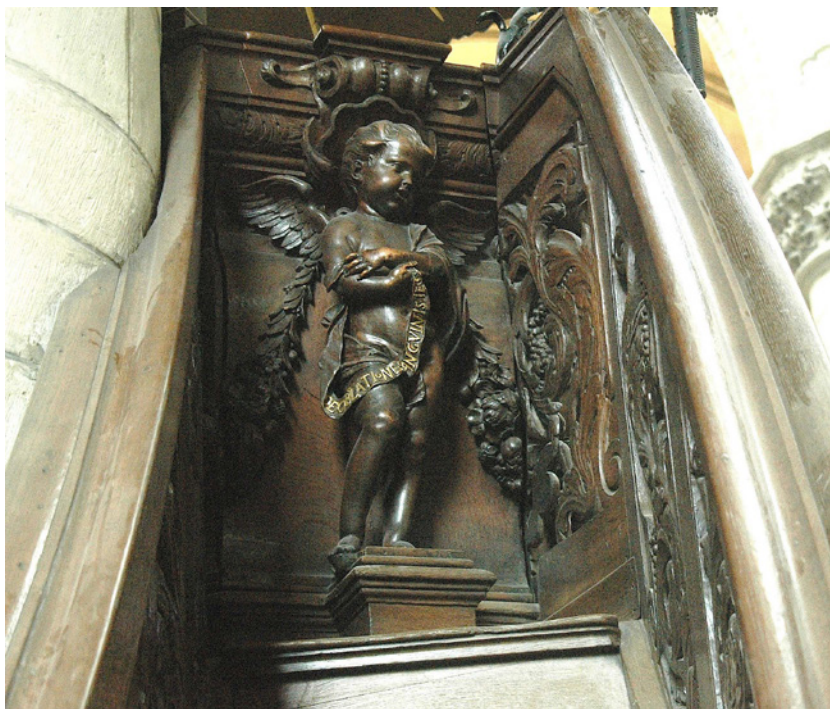


FIGURE 3.27 *St. Jacob's pulpit, cherubic angel at the top of the stairs.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.28 *St. Jacob's pulpit, Veronica's veil at the back inside of the barrel.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.29 *St. Jacob's pulpit, preacher's view from barrel down into nave.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

location in the church sanctified by the constant presence of the consecrated host.³⁸ But the new altar retable in St. Jacob's was extraordinary.

This retable introduced to Flemish architecture and sculpture an unprecedented dynamic force of figural movement, animated contrast between light and dark, and spiraling interpenetration of solid into void (fig. 3.30). It has been argued convincingly that the open portico of twisting Solomonic columns, filled in the center by an effulgent glory of figures, clouds, and gilded rays of light, encapsulates the sight in St. Peter's Basilica of Bernini's Cathedra Petri in the apse framed by the Baldachin over the high altar in front of it (fig. 3.31).³⁹ More in particular, the columns of St. Jacob's high altar open the retable to the space and light of the ambulatory behind. This new lucidity and spaciousness developed an architectural concept that Bernini invented for the high altar retable of S. Paolo, in Bologna (fig. 3.32). Artus Quellinus the Younger and Jean Delcour later adapted that model to the Netherlands through their collaboration on the high altar for the Abbey Church of Herkenrode, built c.1675–1681 (fig. 3.33).⁴⁰ Quellinus wove in to St. Jacob's high altar the rhythm of

38 Herremans 2006–2007, I, 78–84.

39 Durian-Ress 1974, 279; Vlieghe 1998, 252.

40 Herremans 2006–2007, I, 154–156.



FIGURE 3.30 *Artus Quellinus the Younger, Guiliam Kerricx, Ludovicus Willemssens, and Norbert Herry. High altar retable. View of the whole retable.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

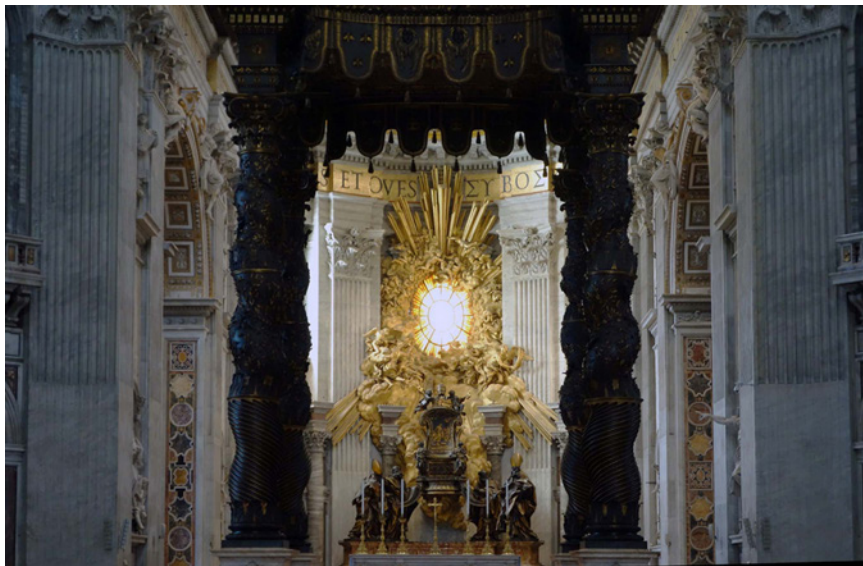


FIGURE 3.31 *View of Cathedra Petri framed by Baldachin in St. Peter's Basilica.*
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN.



FIGURE 3.32 *S. Paolo, Bologna, High altar with the Beheading of St. Paul. Basic design of the altar, Gian Lorenzo Bernini. 1634.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 3.33 *Artus Quellinus the Younger and Jean Delcour. High Altar Retable for the Cistercian Abbey at Herkenrode, now in the Virga Jessebasiliek, Hasselt.*

alternating concave and convex curves that Francesco Borromini and Guarino Guarini had made a part of architecture. Even though Quellinus was assisted by three other sculptors, Guiliam Kerrix, Ludovicus Willemsens, and Norbert Herry, who carved the Solomonic columns, Quellinus alone should be credited with the invention of St. Jacob's high altar retable.⁴¹ Only Quellinus was honored by the churchwardens with the privilege of burial in the crossing, directly in front of the portal to the choir, in sight of his masterpiece.⁴²

In design and sacred imagery the new retable contrasted pointedly with Hans van Haecht's 1605 retable that it replaced (see above, chapter 2). Instead of wood and paintings it stands luminous, carved in precious white marble. The contrast in narrative moment could not be greater. De Vos in his altarpiece of 1594 portrayed the saint at the moment of his martyrdom when he willingly submitted to persecution, pain, and death for his faith. Quellinus presented the triumphant reward for that suffering. A confected glory of angels, in clouds and radiant light, welcomes James into the presence of the majestic Trinity above. A froth of angels spills over the cornice to proffer the saint a gilded wreath of laurel and the palm of spiritual victory won through martyrdom. De Vos's inclusion of the calling of James underscored the apostle's simple origin as fisherman. In the new retable, shells and sea creatures carved around the outer pair of spiraling columns and the scallop shell form of the pediment recall James the fisherman and James the pilgrim (see below, chapter 9, on the altar as a goal of pilgrimage; fig. 3.34; fig. 3.35). At the very top angels trumpet the victory of the Catholic Church.

In its splendor the new high altar retable also proclaimed the success of St. Jacob's plan to establish itself as the parish church of Antwerp's elite. Henricus Hillewerpe, the benefactor who paid the whole cost, exemplified the varied motives of those who participated in the building's decoration. Like many of his contemporaries Hillewerpe translated wealth earned from

41 RAAKASJA 984, "Uyttreksels uyt den Reken Boeck van den Eerweerden en Edelen Heer Henricus Hillewerpe nu ter tyd (1846) berustende onder Jonker Ludovicus Le Candele te Antwerpen" [in the hand of Van Lerijs]: 1684–1687-payments of 6,273 guilders 3 stivers for materials and work on the altar, including, Jan. 26, 1686: "Noch betaelt aen N.Ikens, voor de tekening van den Autaer 50 guldens." Further payments totaling 18,149 guilders 3 stivers, including 10,406 guilders to Quellinus "voor desen Autaer." On the basis of this document Van Lerijs 1855, 186, argues that the mysterious Ikens made his drawing as the design for the altar, but I consider this unlikely. It is more probable that he was paid in 1686 to make an elaborate drawing of the altar which already had been erected by that date. The early-18th-century *Breviarium* of St. Jacob's chapter of canons also credits Quellinus for inventing and designing the whole high altar retable: see below, n.43.

42 See below, chapter 10, n.25.



FIGURE 3.34

High altar retablo outer column, detail with sea creature ornaments.

KIK B032170.

FIGURE 3.35 *High altar pediment with the Trinity.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

commerce into ennoblement and the possession of a country estate. But after his wife Margareta Catharina Goos died in 1657, leaving him childless, Hillewerf entered the priesthood and secured his family's legacy through the church. During the following decades he gradually deepened his involvement with St. Jacob's (see below, chapter 7, for donations to St. Jacob's new chapter of canons).⁴³ In 1684 year he promised the new retable. And in 1694, at his death, he bequeathed a rich treasure of liturgical vestments and ornaments for use at the high altar. Hillewerf received many privileges in exchange. He was awarded a key to enter the choir whenever he liked (so we know that the choir was locked), where he himself could celebrate mass at the high altar. His family alone would be buried in the crypt directly below the high altar that would be reserved for him.⁴⁴ The great value of these privileges depended on the exclusive status of the place.

Careful design enhanced the aura of a hidden mystery revealed in fragmentary glimpses from different vantage points outside the choir. In 1686 Hillewerf also paid sculptor Theodoor Verbruggen to carve the wooden half-doors of the entrance portal from the nave through the roodscreen to the choir. (fig. 3.36).⁴⁵ Even when shut, these doors fill no more than the bottom third of

43 FAA K316: *Breviarium*, 54: the fourteenth prebend for St Jacob's chapter of canons was founded and given "per R. ac Prænobilem D. Henricum Hillewerf viduum Dnæ Margaretæ Catharinæ Goos Toparcham in Heÿns et Weert, deinde Presbÿterum et Prænotarium Apostolicum 19. Augusti 1683. obiit 20. Febr. 1694./ sepultus est in choro ante pedem summi altari, quod ab ipso privato ære munificentia et singulari pietate constructum, fundatum, atque erectum est opera Famosi illius Magistri—artificis Arnoldi Quelini, qui invenit, delineavit, et ex pario lapides sive marmore elegantissime . . . extruxit Anno 1685."

44 First contact came through Henricus's brother Franciscus: RAAKASJA 972, April 17, 1669, request to bishop from St. Jacob's churchwardens for permission to build the roodscreen is answered with instructions to consult Canon Hillewerf "van onse cathedrale ende proviseur van de collegiale kercke van S. Jacobs." Franciscus Hillewerf as actuary of the Cathedral Chapter was instrumental in gaining approval for the erection of the St. Jacob's chapter: *Erectio* 1705, 9; letter of consent from the Cathedral Chapter "onder-teeckent Franciscus Hillewerven Actuarius." See below, chapter 7, n.20, for donation of the choir stall; n.15, for foundation of the prebend; for the retable and the privileges that Hillewerf gained in return see RAAKASJA 983, contract between Hillewerf, churchwardens, and chapter of St. Jacob's, August 19, 1684, also approved by the bishop and Magistracy of Antwerp; RAAKASJA 1172, Inventaris van de ornamenten ten gebruycke van de daeghelÿcxsche misse ende fabricque van den hoogen autaar in de Vermaerde Collegiale Kercke van St Jacobs binnen Antwerpen, naergelaeten by den Eerw: heere Henricus Hillewerf. . . . : Nov. 17, 1749.

45 Van Lierus 1856, 182; Spiessens 1994–1995, 13.



FIGURE 3.36
*Roodscreen doors closed, with high altar retable
 behind.*
 KIK E03463.

the opening. They allow visitors to witness the spectacle as a revelation that gradually unfolds the closer one approaches down the nave, until worshippers behold the entire vision, framed by the curving volutes of the doors, on the crests of which ride two dolphins taken from Hillewerde's coat of arms.

From further back, in the middle of the nave, the scallop shell pediment of the retable comes into view, framed so that it appears to rest on the upper edge of the roodscreen. Alexander Casteels' 1716 perspective view captures this optical trick in its original state, before construction of the great pipe organ during the 1720s (see below) and then the addition in 1865 of the roodscreen crucifixion now in place, blocked the original intended effect (fig. 3.37). Casteels spliced together the black marble edges of the high altar retable and the roodscreen as if they formed one continuous line. From this view the Trinity and the all-seeing eye of the Trinity, surmounted by a cross, look down into the nave. That calculated perspective substituted the cross on top of the high altar retable for the traditional crucifixion that in other churches and previously in St. Jacob's was suspended on the sacred beam over the roodscreen (see above, chapter 2, for these earlier Calvary groups). Even today you can see the eye of the Trinity and the cross of the high altar if you stand to one side or the other of the nave (fig. 3.38). Once inside the ambulatory gates, visitors could glimpse the high altar retable at different vantage points through the openings and over the tops of the choir enclosures (fig. 3.39).

Access to the high altar offered a special occasion to those normally kept out. An extreme response of frenzied devotion is recorded in a watercolor of



FIGURE 3.37 *Alexander Casteels. View of St. Jacob's. 1716. Pen and ink and watercolor on vellum. 47.3 × 37.8cm [18 5/8 14 7/8 inches].*
ANONYMOUS GIFT 82.290.1. MUSEUM OF ART, RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN, PROVIDENCE. PHOTO: ERIK GOULD.



FIGURE 3.38 *View of the eye of the Trinity and cross over the high altar from the nave.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

1740 where ten men, freed from slavery in Algiers by the efforts of St. Jacob's Holy Trinity Brotherhood, kneel before the altar in joyous thanksgiving for their liberation.⁴⁶ (fig. 3.40) Here the magnificent retable orchestrates the ritual. First, the Trinity group above signaled the Holy Trinity Brotherhood's privileged rights to share the high altar with parish clergy. A priest at the beautifully furnished altar offers up praise to the Trinity that is amplified by the figure of St. James rising in glory. It does not matter that the artist depicted the fervor of the liberated slaves through conventional signs of prayer and emotion, for these were the postures in which living men were accustomed to express the same feelings. Their gestures mirrored the new triumphal imagery of the retable.

46 RAAKASJA B.42, Rekeningen van het Aertsbroderschap der Allerheyligste Dryvuldigheyd, tot verlossing der Christene Slaeven. 1717–1749, f.119v., at top of first page for 1740: water color, signed: A.I. DE. CRËPU. PICTOR.



FIGURE 3.39 *View of high altar from south ambulatory and Sacrament Chapel.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 3.40 *A.I. De Crèpu. Thanksgiving for Release of Christian Slaves from captivity in Algiers. 1740.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

3.7 Finishing Touches of the 1720s: The Great Porch on the Inside of the West Entrance, the New Pipe Organ on the Roodscreen, and the Ambulatory Gates

During the 1720s the churchwardens of St. Jacob's undertook three major projects that perfected the ornament of the nave. It is remarkable that these new projects enhanced and did not disrupt the plan for a magnificent interior conceived sixty years earlier. They were designed and executed by Antwerp's last great generation of architect-sculptors—Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, Joannes Claudius De Cock, and Michiel van der Voort the Elder—who all had trained in the earlier tradition and understood how to implement the churchwardens' vision of continuity over generations. At the same time, that graceful integration of the past into the present was also the fortuitous result of chance circumstance.

3.8 Ambulatory Gates and the Project for a New Roodscreen

Fifty years after De Neve completed his roodscreen the churchwardens seriously considered replacing it. In 1720 Joannes Claudius De Cock presented an elaborate design for the new roodscreen along with an entrance gate to the south ambulatory flanked by life-size, freestanding sculptures of St. Philip and St. James.⁴⁷ This concept took into account the new institutional affiliations that changed the dedications of the two roodscreen side altars from the Resurrection of Christ and the Ascension of The Virgin to The Good Death and St. Joseph (fig. 3.41).⁴⁸ But the De Meurs sisters, wealthy “spiritual daughters” who would have paid for the new roodscreen, had left the terms of their bequest so ambiguous that the funding proved uncertain. The project was reduced in scale.⁴⁹

47 RAAKASJA 1179, base, 131 cm.; height, 61.9 cm., black chalk, pen and brown ink with grey, yellow, and pink wash, on paper; signed bottom right: Joannes Claudius De Cock inven. del[ineavit] A° 1720.

48 See below, chapter 9.

49 ASJA 631: Voortganck van St. Jacobs Parochiaele Kercke ofte Vierde Eeuwe, f.40–41r: 1719: Meurs sisters: their will is unclear about making an enclosure and the sum for it: “soo is met interpretatie ende autorisatie van overighijt gemaect de schoone ingangen van den ommeganck representerende den H.H Petrus en Jacobus aen de zuijt sijde door M...Cockx gemaect ende den HH. Paulum ende Joannem aen de Noort sijde door M. Vervoort Ons Heer wilt de voors. joffrn loonen.”



FIGURE 3.41 *Joannes Claudius De Cock. Competition drawing for new roodscreen. 1720.*

Competition drawings by De Cock and Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen, dated a year later to 1721, indicate the decision to keep the 1670 roodscreen intact and limit change to fashioning symmetrical ambulatory gates flanked by two life-size statues guarding each entrance (fig. 3.42; fig. 3.43).⁵⁰ De Cock's winning elegant and economical solution smoothed out the imperfections at the one crucial juncture in the church where the new principles of open space, lucidity, and symmetry had not yet been applied.

Indeed, De Cock's new design actually follows Verbrugghen's more modest proposal, and then performs the added service of presenting a choice between De Cock's modified idea, still with a freestanding St. James on the right, and Verbrugghen's invention, copied by De Cock from his rival's 1721 drawing, with its oval painting or relief of St. Mark, and a more simply ornamented gate on the left.

De Cock's invention prevailed. His marble statue of St. Peter replaced the St. Mark in Verbrugghen's design and the St. Philip of his own earlier plan.

50 Verbrugghen's drawing is RAAKASJA 1180, base: 73.3 cm.; height: 46.1; signed bottom right: H.F. Verbrugghen inv: et deli: 1721; pen and brown ink, grey and brown wash, black chalk. It presents a concept that extends to an elaborate fence and entrance doors for the Sacrament Chapel on right: personification of Hope with anchor and parrot: Sts. Mark and Matthew flanking entrance to south ambulatory, over which appears in black chalk a strange apparition of the Trinity, an equilateral triangle in a glory of light and clouds. De Cock's drawing is RAAKASJA 1181, base: 52.1 cm.; height: 38.5 cm.; in pen and grey ink, grey and brown wash, black chalk, on paper; inscribed below left half: Dese syde is geordineert door Henr: F: Verbrugghen. 1721; below right half: en dese door Joannes Claudius De Cock inv: del: 1721; with measurement scale at bottom.

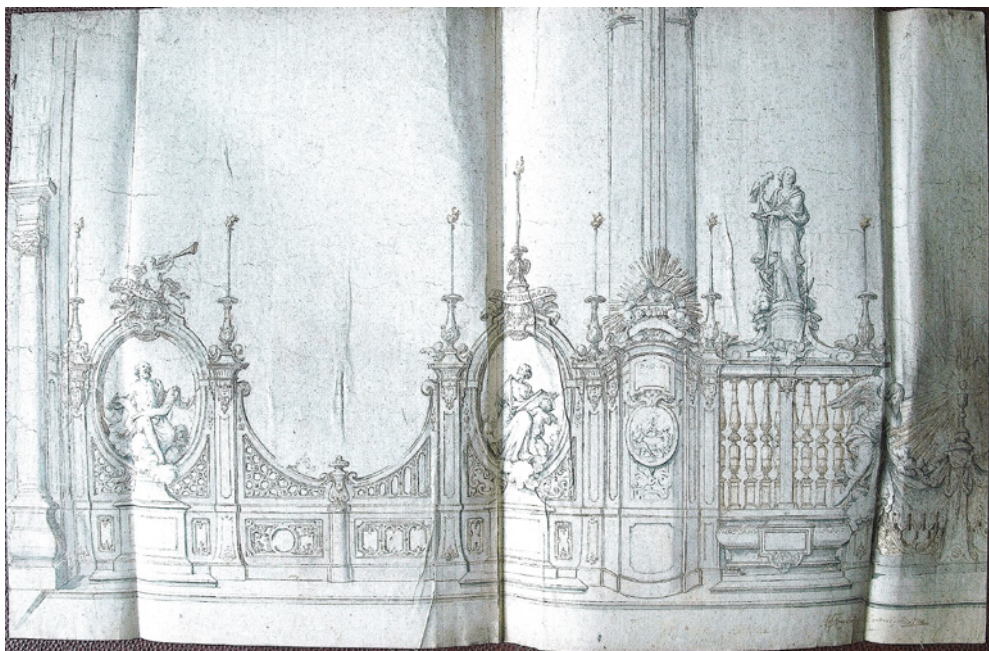


FIGURE 3.42 *Hendrik Frans Verbruggen. Competition drawing for new ambulatory gates and Sacrament Chapel enclosure. 1721.*

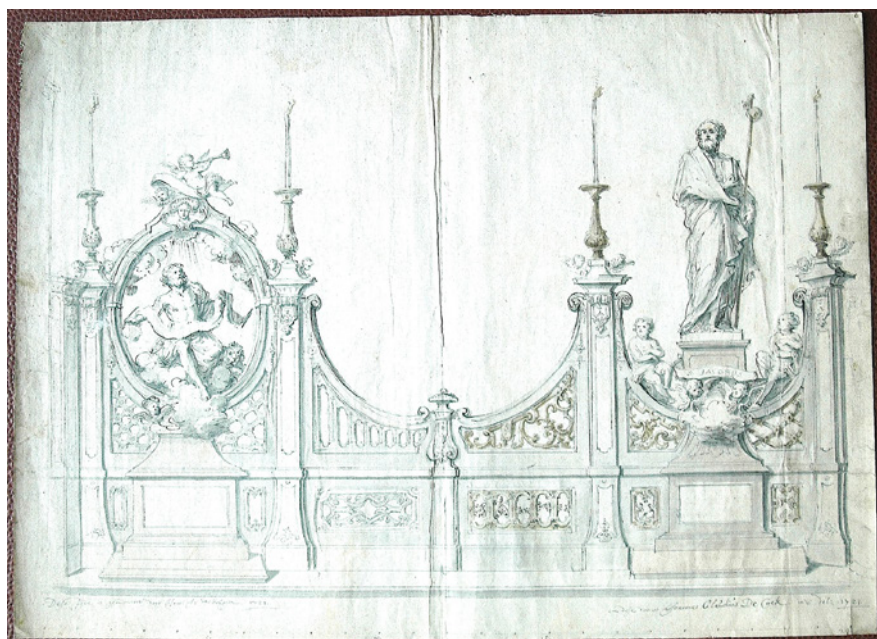


FIGURE 3.43 *Joannes Claudius De Cock. Design for ambulatory gates. 1721.*



FIGURE 3.44
*Joannes Claudius De Cock. St. Peter,
 St. James, and doors at the south
 ambulatory gate.*
 KIK M088412.



FIGURE 3.45
*Michiel van der Voort the Elder.
 St. John the Evangelist and St. Paul
 at the north ambulatory gate.*
 KIK M088485.

St. Peter now joined St. James at the south gate to the ambulatory (fig. 3.44). Michiel van der Voort, commissioned to carve the two statues for the north gate, followed instructions to design his St. Paul and St. John the Evangelist in agreement with the proportions of De Cock's work (fig. 3.45). All four stand on pedestals made according to De Cock's model, so that symmetry and architectural unity were built in as conditions of the project, very likely imposed by the churchwardens and canons.⁵¹ The iconography of these four images also suggests a coordinating hand, since Peter and Paul form a pair at the center,

51 Tralbaut 1950, 198–199, transcribes entries pertaining to this commission from Van der Voort's account book: "1722 24 8bris anghenomen te maeken voor mynheer ianssens visendecken van S. Iacopskerck 2 beelden van witte marber hoogh volghen die van de heer de Kock beelthouwer die de modellen gemaect heeft voor het werk daer de selve moeten op gestelt worden." Payment followed in 1723.



FIGURE 3.46 *Joannes Claudius De Cock. St. James at the south ambulatory gate.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

joined by James and John, the two best-known apostles. De Cock's St. James attains a particular beauty through its union of monumental force and delicacy of surface that catches the light and brings the figure to life (fig. 3.46). Together the four statues and the gates draw a graceful boundary between parish space and the more exclusive precinct of the ambulatory with its private chapels.⁵²

52 Both sets of gates closing the ambulatory were made by Francois de Bouge, stonecutter at Namur: Tralbaut 1950, 198.

3.9 The Great Porch on the Inside of the West Entrance

In 1723, soon after completion of the ambulatory gates, the churchwardens commissioned sculptor-architect Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen to build the interior porch that ornaments the west entrance into the nave. It stands now as the counterpart of the roodscreen when a visitor looks back from east to west (fig. 3.47). Verbrugghen's entrance porch brought to fruition in very different form a project that left its only trace seventy years earlier, in Peeter Neefs the Younger's 1653 perspective view of the church (fig. 3.48). Neefs likely depicted this unconventional view from east to west expressly to display a much simpler concept for the interior portal at the west entrance, with its black and red marble construction, that apparently never was built.⁵³

Verbrugghen's design, completed in 1725, arranges three massive, red marble ionic columns, flecked and veined with grey and white, to support the curving entablature. Occupied now by the church's 19th-century pipe organ, the balcony above originally furnished space for musicians and singers, and was decorated with an ornamental clock, for which Verbrugghen carved personifications of Time and the Genius of Youth. An inscription spelled out their meaning; "*sicut umbra current dies nostri*" (Our days fly like shadows).⁵⁴

Porch and clock both were the gifts of Jacob Vernimmen, lord of Elsacker and Eeckhauthen, bachelor of arts and law, and former churchwarden. However, his generosity hinged on the success of a lottery that he himself had organized. When it failed, Vernimmen literally stopped time by dismantling the iron clock hand, in the hope of squeezing a larger subvention than the 1,000 guilders that the churchwardens already had promised.⁵⁵ Eventually the hand was returned, and a gilded sun—carved by Hendrik Joltrain and painted by Jacob Verhouwen—lent the clock more splendor.⁵⁶

53 Baisier 2008, I, 96–99.

54 See Van Lerijs 1855, 52; see Van Lerijs, *Beschryving, RAAKASJA* (old number 560), 3, for the inscription.

55 RAAKASJA 1034, July 18, 1726, churchwardens of St. Jacobs to Magistrates, complain that they agreed on April 23, 1723 with Vernimmen that Vernimmen would pay for the porch. Despite their generous subvention of 1,000 guilders, Vernimmen has taken down the clock hand, to the great detriment of the public interest. They demand that Vernimmen keep his promise, regardless of the success or failure of the lottery he is running, and that he return the clock hand.

56 See Van Lerijs 1855, 52.



FIGURE 3.47 *Hendrik Frans Verbrugghe. West porch viewed from the east (note that the organ on top was added during the 19th century). 1723–1725.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 3.48

Detail of fig. 2.2. View of project for west interior portal in 1653.

3.10 The New Pipe Organ on the Roodscreen

In 1723, the same year that they commissioned Verbrugghen to construct this west interior porch, the churchwardens also hired the Brussels organ maker Jan Baptista Forceville to build the instrument now standing on the roodscreen (fig. 3.49). After its completion in 1670 the new roodscreen furnished the most important location for music in St. Jacob's. Church choir and orchestra performed on the roodscreen loft. A clavichord manufactured by the famous Ruckaert (Ruckers) family sat there, perhaps bought in 1674 from sculptor-musician-musical instrument dealer Theodoor Verbrugghen, who also donated a bass violin that was kept on the roodscreen.⁵⁷ In that light, it is likely that the two projects of 1723, for a new pipe organ and for the west porch, were intertwined. The balcony of the west porch could accommodate the singers and musicians who had been pushed out of the roodscreen by the new organ. Now music would resound from both ends of the nave with a kind of magnificence equal to the material splendor of the church.

57 RAAKASJA 1168, f.1r: "Inventarisatie ende aenteeckeninge geschiet op den 29en: november 1700 & naer volgende daegen van alle & Igelycke de naervolgende kerkelycke ornamenten, Ciraten & goederen raeckende de Collegiale & Parochiale kercke van St: Iacob binnen deser stadt van Antwerpen": f.9r.: "Op het ocksael/ Item een clavercingel wesende een stertstuck gemaect door M: Ruckaert/ Item twee bassen waer van den eenen gegeven is door Theodor Verbrugghen." On the purchase of a clavichord from Verbrugghen, see RAAKASJA R.11., *Kerkrekening 1674*, f.276r., and Spiessens 1994–1995, 15.



FIGURE 3.49 *Jan Baptista Forceville and Michiel van der Voort the Elder. New pipe organ viewed from the nave. 1723–1729.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

Forceville's pipe organ replaced the instrument built a generation earlier, 1655–1660, by Peter De Lannoy, decorated with sculpture carved by Peeter Verbruggen the Elder, and paid for with contributions donated “in honor of God.”⁵⁸ De Lannoy's organ, that answered the new strategy of magnificence,

58 RAAKASJA R.61., Kladboek 1655, f.107v. for contributions, f.108r.: “22 miert betaelt aen Piere Lannoy orgelameker voor de eerste pajj vant maeken vant orgel volgens den contracte 800 gl.” RAAKASJA R.10., Kerkrekening 1660, f.17v.: “aen Peeter Verbruggen beltsnyder over snywerck aen dorgel 48 gl.”; also RAAKASJA R.61., f.94r. See Peeters and Vente 1971, 195–196, on De Lannoy's career, and for the registers of his organ in St. Jacob's. Unlike the organ it replaced, no pictures or documents indicate exactly where De Lannoy's organ stood. Some records suggest that at least part of it was set on the old and then, after 1670, on the new roodscreen: RAAKASJA R.10., Kerkrekening 1660, f.94r., under expenses for the organ, payment to joiner Jan van Loon “voort maecken van een casse opt d'ocxael,” RAAKASJA R.41., Grootboek 1664–1676, f.280r., under expenses for the new roodscreen, June 26, 1670, payments to repair and tune the organ. But these payments are too small to account for the expense of making a new organ case. And, although the large size of the organ and case would have made them a prominent feature on the roodscreen, no trace of them appears in perspective pictures.

had in turn replaced the 1603 organ (see above, chapter 2), and played for more than seventy years. By 1720, however, its design and sound were outmoded.

When built and installed at enormous cost in 1729, Forceville's organ transformed the upper profile of the roodscreen.⁵⁹ As in 1589, a parish-wide collection attracted community support for the project.⁶⁰ Joiners, gilders, polychromers, and other artisans collaborated with Forceville to finish the work. But the decisive word on design was spoken by master sculptor Michiel van der Voort the Elder, appointed to carve in wood four figures, ten "children" and all the other ornaments pertaining to the art of sculpture.⁶¹

Together Forceville and Van der Voort supervised and coordinated the venture.⁶² Their close collaboration might explain the very high quality of the organ that proved innovative and influential for both its sound and design. To the ears of one listener, writing in 1764, an organ built by Forceville sounded much fuller and more delicate than an instrument built the previous century by De Lannoy.⁶³ He used the untranslatable Dutch adjective "mollig," more suitable to describing the blushing flesh tones, soft shadows, and mellifluous contours of a female nude by Rubens than the sound of an instrument, but in complete agreement with the intention of organ builders in northern Europe starting around 1725 to fill the churches with a big sound that would be softened at the edges by colorful and exquisite ornament.⁶⁴

The early modern pipe organ was for its time one of the most complex mechanisms. Precise measurements of case and pipes were necessary to manufacture a particular sound.⁶⁵ I stress this point to raise the question of who invented the design of the St. Jacob's organ that is distinctive for its unified base line and side towers curving up to meet the framing transept piers. Forceville has been credited with this design that subsequently was imitated

59 For payments towards the organ see RAAKASJA R.14., Kerkrekening 1723, f.18v.; Kerkrekening 1724, f.18v.; Kerkrekening 1729, f.18v.

60 Tralbaut 1950, 529–530, refers to an "advertentie" announcing the special parish collection, July 29, 1727, to pay for the new organ.

61 Documents from RAAKASJA 1140, published in Tralbaut 1950, 525–527, documents VII–VIII.

62 For example, they witnessed the contract for work on the organ that joiner Peeter Cuijpers signed with St. Jacob's churchwardens; Tralbaut 1950, 525–526: RAAKASJA 1141/7.

63 From an anonymous history of the O.L.V. van Bijstand Church in Brussels, whose Forceville organ is compared to the De Lannoy organ in the St. Catharina Church of the same city: cited in Peeters and Vente 1971, 210.

64 For "mollig" see WNT, IX, 1038–1039. The new sound of northern European organs 1725–1750 is described by Peter Williams, "Organ," in *The New Grove Dictionary* 1980, XIII, 756.

65 Williams in *The New Grove Dictionary*, XIII, 756.

up to the 1790s.⁶⁶ But it seems to me that the solution attains a visual complexity reflective of an accomplished artist's skill, so that Van der Voort must have contributed to the whole design. His two design drawings that economically depict the front, back, and ground plan aspects of the organ give sufficient evidence (fig. 3.50).⁶⁷ However, it is the multi-faceted integration of the pipe organ as ornament in its setting that displays a master-designer's touch.

If the massive roodscreen, completed in 1670, forcefully stops the perspective view down the nave from west to east, then the organ above is designed to continue that perspective by manipulating the eye with illusion, through downward steps that, from a distance, take on the appearance of an inward-curving colonnade (see above, fig. 3.11). This illusion gathers, masks, and accelerates the real perspective convergence of the gallery mouldings that run in continuous lines under the clerestory to unify the church visually as they bridge the gap from the nave over the crossing to the choir. The organ is placed to leave the continuation of these mouldings visible in the first bay of the choir, so that the eye makes the jump from nave to choir. The bundles of organ pipes rise like columns on either side, echoing the cylindrical form of the crossing piers, they overlap the vertical rise of the engaged shafts that mark the end of the first choir bay, and they extend the vertical accents of the two side altars in the roodscreen below. It is also evident that Van der Voort conceived the downward rhythm of convex side bundles, flat porch-like rectangular panels, and illusion of inward-curving concave colonnade, as the reflection and closure of the upward rise of the choir vaults. The outline of the organ in addition took up in counterpoint the converging lines of the high altar pediment that would have been visible and perfectly framed by the organ in the center over the roodscreen before the addition of the roodscreen Calvary in the 19th century. The musical angels on either side wonderfully break and ornament the hard edge of the architectural profiles, suggesting a visual analogy to the unified sound and exquisite ornament with which Forceville's organ filled the church.

In its other aspect, facing towards the enclosed choir, the organ once again unifies vertical and perspective lines. But on this side it functions more as a solid partition wall that emphasizes the exclusive separate status of the inner sanctum reserved for St. Jacob's college of canons, a unique space that I will describe later, in chapter 7 (fig. 3.51). Here the rich dark tone of cabinetmaker's wood picks up the dominant color of the choir stalls below, and the iconography of the ornament is more elaborate. St. Cecilia, patroness of musicians,

66 Peeters and Vente 1971, 209, identify the St. Jacob's organ as the third type invented by Forceville and, 278, trace its long-lasting influence.

67 Tralbaut 1950, 264, and aff.120–121.



FIGURE 3.50 *Michiel van der Voort the Elder. Design for St. Jacob's pipe organ.*
ANTWERP, PRENTENKABINET, PK. OT. 02181.



FIGURE 3.51 *Pipe organ seen from the east over the choir stalls.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

is carved in relief, clutching her gilded pipe organ inside the oval medallion at top center (fig. 3.52). Patron saint of musicians, she often was included in the decoration of organs for Catholic churches. Musical instruments carved in relief decorate the metopes of the frieze that runs along the base of the two projecting side sections of the organ on this eastward-facing side. Jacob van der Sanden, in his “Oud konst-tooneel van Antwerpen” of c.1760–1775, succinctly described the long tradition that Van der Voort continued. The sculptor has made apparent:

How he could embellish the organ case with his art/ Angels large and small, with harp, trombone, flute, bass viol, violin, and trumpet let the praise of God resound/ with song and stringed instruments, all vividly from life/ Thus also in the Old Testament was the praise of God exalted/ The pinnacles crossed with trombones and lutes [lyres]/ maid Cecilia shining forth in bas relief.⁶⁸

68 FAA PK 171–173, III, 314, quoted in Tralbaut 1950, 263: “Hier in Sint Jacobskerk laet hij ook klaere blyken,/ Hoe hy de orgelkas kon met syn konst verryken./ Engelen groot en klyn



FIGURE 3.52 *St. Cecilia on the choir side of the pipe organ.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

3.11 Conclusion

Late in the 1650s the churchwardens devised a highly successful strategy to rescue St. Jacob's from crisis. First, they eliminated the mortal threat posed by the project for a new Jesuit Church that would have stolen away all the potential support from their wealthy parish. They grasped at every source of revenue, and they even were willing to divert charity from the poor if it could be used to ornament the church in splendor sufficient to attract Antwerp's elite. Luxurious marble replaced wood, new ornate chapel retables proclaimed the generosity of donors and the cults of saints, and lavish monuments perpetuated the memory of childless widowers and unmarried "spiritual daughters." A coherent plan, first visualized in Willem von Ehrenberg's 1663 perspective view of the church, was followed in outline. But the roodscreen and pulpit actually built were more sumptuous. By 1685 the new high altar proclaimed

met harpe, bassuyn, fluyt,/ Bas, viool en trompet den lof Gods galmen uyt/ Met zang en snare-spel, al kragtig naer het leven:/ Zoo ook in d'oude wet den Lof Gods wird verheven,/ De soppen zyn bekruyt met bassuyns en met luyt/ In basrelief de maegt Caecilia blinkt uyt."

the triumph of St. Jacob's and of the Catholic Church in the South Netherlands. During the 1720s new gates to the ambulatory, an interior porch for the west portal, and a new pipe organ over the roodscreen completed the design.

The churchwardens coordinated an effort that spanned generations and involved many donors and artists. The harmonious result depended on the application of a clear set of architectural principles held in common over a long period of time. Ornament, built in accordance with the rules of the ancient Greek and Roman orders, perfected at human scale the interior of the larger edifice constructed in Gothic. Marble was the material of choice, esteemed for its inherent preciousness and candid radiance. Luminosity and spaciousness displayed these lustrous decorations to greatest effect. Everything was filled in and finished. No blemishes or gaps were tolerated. Chapel enclosures, pulpit, roodscreen, high altar, and organ all were conceived one in relation to the other as they fitted into perspective views that were intended to strike the eye from calculated main vantage points. After 1660 the gravity of architectural ornament increased in weight and relief to signify dignity in the church. All of these principles were based on the Italian architectural theory and practice that the southern Netherlands had adapted gradually during the 17th century.⁶⁹ But the opulence and luxury with which they were applied in St. Jacob's reflected in particular the rich taste prevalent among Antwerp's elite, especially after 1650.

By organizing the space of the parish church according to rules of unity, symmetry, and perfection, the churchwardens could use these standards of ornament as a means to exercise political power. They belonged to the magisterial class and derived their position from the city government hand in hand with the Catholic Church. Through their control of church space they could enforce the virtue of magnificence that admitted the participation only of those with great wealth. Uniformity required the subordination of competing private interests to the maintenance of an open, uncluttered, parish space.⁷⁰ At a moment of financial crisis and faced with dangerous rivals, St. Jacob's emerged triumphant, partly at the expense of its poor and middle-class parishioners.

That splendor dazzled all who entered the nave or were permitted to approach the high altar in the choir. But those who came seeking the sacraments of baptism, penance, communion, and holy matrimony that they could receive only in their parish church, penetrated deeper into the separate places where this kind of divine grace was dispensed in material form. In the next two chapters I will study these sacraments in St. Jacob's as they were transformed by the art and ornaments of Antwerp's Counter Reformation.

69 See Ottenheym 2007, 151–156, for this process.

70 See Torre 1992.

Sacraments in the Parish

4.1 Introduction

“1. What is a Sacrament?” The millions of children in Antwerp and throughout the archdiocese who learned religion from the Mechelen Catechism answered: “A Sacrament is an outward sign, instituted by Jesus Christ, that indicates a particular grace and gives us the same. 2. Why do you say that the Sacrament is an outward sign? The Sacrament is an outward sign, because it indicates in an outward way the invisible grace that it gives us.”¹

Among the seven sacraments, confirmation and ordination were ministered exclusively by the bishop.² The Council of Trent decreed that Catholics should receive the other five from the pastor of their parish church.³ Its monopoly on spiritual grace set the parish church at the center of the community, where each person would enter through baptism, lighten the burden of sin by penance, partake of the mystical body of Christ in communion, join sexual love, social union, and divine grace in holy matrimony, and face death salved by the healing power of extreme unction. In this chapter I will reconstruct the material and spiritual arrangements that St. Jacob's put in place for the sacraments of baptism and penance. As for communion and holy matrimony, because a separate “great chapel” devoted to them thrived as a vital institution within the church, I will discuss those sacraments on their own, in the next chapter.

4.2 A Community of Signs

After the Calvinist onslaught destroyed what St. Thomas Aquinas called the community of signs in which all Catholics had been united, the Church knew its life depended on restoring the authority and significance of the

1 *Mechelsche Catechismus*, 58.

2 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 55, Seventh Session, Canons on Confirmation, 3; 162–163, Canons on the Sacrament of Order.

3 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 204, Twenty-Fourth Session, Reform Chapter XIII, states that parishes should be given clear and separate boundaries so that the pastor can know his people, “from whom alone they may licitly receive the sacraments.”

sacraments.⁴ This required faith that the correct signs, manipulated in the right hands—those of the priest who is ordained by the bishop, who is appointed by the pope, who is the Vicar of Christ—will dispense the grace that saves. Priests had to know how “to administer rightly the sacraments of the Church,” and they also were responsible for explaining the efficacy and use of the sacraments “in a manner adapted to the mental ability of those who receive them,” referring if need be to the vernacular catechism from which these beliefs had been learned in the first place.⁵

Sacraments—as Aquinas argued—are complex signs, assembled from sensible things such as water for baptism, words such as “I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,” and actions such as washing and anointing.⁶ According to Aquinas, words in sacraments clarify the signification of sensible things, so that “when we say, I baptize thee, it is clear that we use water in baptism in order to signify spiritual cleansing,” and not cool refreshment.⁷ Words therefore give form to the material things in sacraments. Also very important, ritual actions such as cleansing, anointing, and making the sign of the cross, contain the same clarifying signification, although presumably they too must be explained with words.

Most things can be signified by different signs. In the Bible, “. . . God is signified metaphorically, sometimes by a stone (2 Kings xxii, 2, Zach. iii. 9, 1 Cor. x. 4, Apoc. iv. 3); sometimes by a lion (Isa. xxxi. 4, Apoc. v. 5). . . .” and so on. But this is not true for sacraments because “. . . to determine which sign must be used belongs to the signifier. Now it is God Who signifies spiritual things to us by means of the sensible things in the sacraments. . . .”⁸ Christ, who instituted the sacraments, also determined the things and words that invariably signify them.

Consequently, this is one place where using semiotics for visual analysis does make sense, because the sacraments were conceived as a system of signs, in which an ordained Catholic priest, who puts together the right configuration of visible objects, ritual actions, and words, always produces the same meaning intended by God the Signifier, and that meaning is real, internal grace. It will be worthwhile to take this system seriously as Aquinas devised it, and scrutinize

4 Aquinas, *Commentary on Ephesians*, 4, lectio 2, cited in Piault 1963, 59.

5 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 173, Twenty-Third Session, Reform, Chapter XIV; 197, Twenty-Fourth Session, Reform, Chapter VII.

6 Aquinas 1981, IV, 2343, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 60, Article 6.

7 Aquinas 1981, IV, 2343, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 60, Article 6.

8 Aquinas 1981, IV, 2342, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 60, Article 5.

how in St. Jacob's the sacraments were made accessible to the faithful, as the Council of Trent wished.

4.3 Baptism

Start with baptism, the first sacrament in any Catholic sequence.⁹ Rogier van der Weyden depicts it in his great *Seven Sacraments* altarpiece, painted to affirm the number of seven sacraments decreed by the Church in 1439 (fig. 4.1; fig. 4.2).¹⁰ Here and in the other sacraments, Rogier's picture offers a standard of comparison that measures the changes in practice between the late Middle Ages and the sacraments as they were administered after 1585 in the South Netherlands.

As in Rogier's *Sacraments*, the baptismal font in St. Jacob's was placed close to the west entrance of the church, a location forthrightly symbolic of baptism's position as "the first and most necessary sacrament."¹¹ Only after original sin has been washed clean, would the new innocent become a child of the Holy Church.¹² The very presence of a baptismal font characterized St. Jacob's as a parish church dedicated to the care of souls.¹³

The favored side for the font was on the north, Gospel side of the high altar, superior to the south where the Epistle is read during mass.¹⁴ In Rogier's picture, and the few remaining late-Medieval examples—as at St. Leonard's in Zoutleeuw—the chapel on the north side closest to the west entrance is reserved for baptism.¹⁵ Some Counter Reformation churches—as in the Cathedral and

9 Aquinas 1981, IV, 2369–2371, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 65, Articles 1–2.

10 Decree for the Armenians, Council of Florence, 1439, Pope Eugenius IV, Bull, *Exultate Domine*, translation available at: www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1438sacraments.asp#armen. However, the definitive doctrine of seven sacraments was decreed by the Council of Trent; see Piault 1963, 125.

11 *Mechelsche Catechismus*, 59.

12 *Mechelsche Catechismus*, 60.

13 Borromeo 1960–1962, 47.

14 At least according to Borromeo 1960–1962, 55: "In omni ecclesia parochiali . . . , ubi fontem baptismalem constitui concessum sit, intus ad ostium maius et a latere, ubi evangelium legitur, sacellum cappellave extruatur; quae instar aliarum cappellarum lateralium sit, quae pro altaribus exaedificantur (in every parish where it may be permitted to construct a baptismal font, the chapel should be built close to the main entrance and on the side where the Gospel is read; which should be in the form of the other side chapels which have been erected to contain altars)."

15 Engelen 1993, 145–146.



FIGURE 4.1 *Rogier van der Weyden and workshop. The Seven Sacraments. c.1440–45.*
ANTWERP, KONINLIJK MUSEUM VOOR SCHONE KUNSTEN.

St. Joris at Antwerp—followed this preference.¹⁶ But it was not the rule. In the three other Antwerp parish churches, St. Andries, St. Walburgis, and St. Jacob's, the font stood on the south side.¹⁷ And in all the Antwerp churches, the fonts were not set in chapels off the nave, but rather in separate, enclosed precincts bordered by the western, entrance wall.

At St. Jacob's this space was changed radically in 1804 when the churchwardens commissioned architect Jan Kaulman to design what remains the only

16 See the 18th-century plan of the Cathedral in Van den Nieuwenhuizen 1993, 37; see De Wit 1910, Plan xvi, no. 34, for St. Joris.

17 See De Wit 1910, Plan III, no. 10, for St. Andries, Plan xv, no. 27, for St. Walburgis.



FIGURE 4.2 Detail of fig. 4.1; the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and penance.

significant neo-classical intervention in the church.¹⁸ A circular room, with a cupola above, replaced what an 18th-century plan shows to have been a simpler rectangular enclosure (fig. 4.3). The plan also marks the spot where the font was located, probably from the 16th century to 1804, set between the two massive walls supporting the tower above, and circumscribed by two descending [?] rounded steps. Descending and rising equates the font with Christ's sepulcher from which he rose to eternal life.¹⁹ I do not think it accidental that this position lines up exactly with the outer columns of the "great portico" western narthex entrance into the church. Ancient practice demanded that the priest hold the child just outside the threshold, to signify that baptism is the entrance

18 Van Lerius 1855, 54–55.

19 Borromeo 1960–1962, 49.

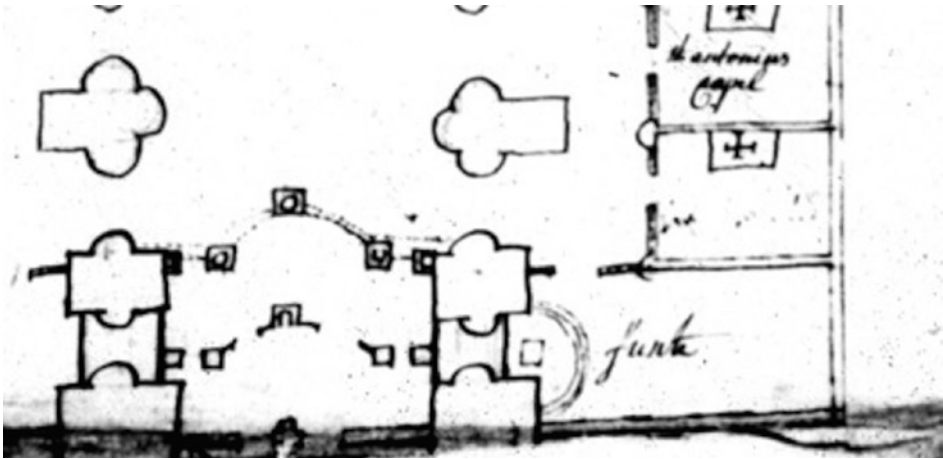


FIGURE 4.3 Detail of fig. 1.14; 18th-century plan of St. Jacob's indicating position of the baptismal font, "*fonte*."

to salvation.²⁰ From 1623 to 1804 at St. Jacob's an oaken fence with brass columns separated the font from the south aisle.²¹

In times of necessity the sacrament requires nothing more than cleansing with water and the words. Everything else, says Aquinas, has been introduced to lend the rite solemnity. First, it is necessary to arouse devotion that otherwise might not attach to so simple an act. Second, the illiterate should be instructed in the sacrament's meaning through sensible signs, pictures for instance. And third, prayers, anointment, holy water, and other sacred things will hinder the devil, whose evil is expelled by baptism.²²

The font of purifying water establishes a center for the ritual. While in Roger's picture and at St. Leonard's, Zoutleeuw, brass is used for the fonts, St. Jacob's font is made of black and red marble, inlaid with white.²³ It probably was

²⁰ Karant-Nunn 1997, 44.

²¹ RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1623–1624, f.26v.: Oct. 15, 1623, paid to a joiner, for "tmacken vanden thuyt vander vonte": 54 guilders. RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115: 1: 28 Pluviose an 6 [Feb. 17, 1798]: f.1r.: "No 1 Dans les fond de Bateme/ Les balustrages en bois de chêne et colonnes de cuivre, faisant la cloiture du dit fonds de Bateme."

²² Aquinas 1981, IV, 2383–2384, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 66, Article 10.

²³ Engelen 1993, 145–146, on Zoutleeuw; Van Lerijs, Beschrijving, RAAKASJA (old number 560), 7, on the St. Jacob's font. On late-Medieval fonts in the Netherlands, see Bangs 1997, 22–29. Bangs derives the two common materials for fonts—stone and bronze—from the rock that Moses struck for water (Exodus 17: 1–8) and the bronze basin of the Tabernacle (Exodus 30: 18–19).

carved between 1621, when an old brass font is mentioned in the accounts, and 1626, when smith Hans Hendrickx received thirty guilders for the brass lid still in place.²⁴ An arm of iron made it easy to swing the heavy lid (fig. 4.4).²⁵ Calvinists had rejected fonts as another Catholic superstition, and substituted plain basins instead.²⁶ Choosing the richest materials and most elaborate ornaments, the churchwardens at St. Jacob's gave even greater weight to the centrality of Catholic rites. They also fulfilled the diocesan requirement to construct fonts from lead or stone, since copper and brass were now thought insufficient to conserve the water.²⁷ Priests could use it, and no one else. Enclosing the font with a balustrade, and covering it with a lid, emphasized the separate and sacred character of the baptismal water.

In Catholic baptism the newborn child could not understand instruction and appreciate the solemnity of the event. All questions and explanations were addressed to the parents and godparents.²⁸ Protestants had rejected this logical confusion, a vestige of early Christian practice when, most often, adult converts were baptized.²⁹ Baptism, as it persisted in Catholicism, employed every means to impress upon the adults present their spiritual responsibility for the child. Practically, it worked like a confirmation for adults.

Protestants to varying degrees attacked the Catholic practice of baptism as superstition. Rogier's picture indicates exactly what they objected to. Instead of the washing, the actual sacrament, the priest anoints the child directly after the baptism proper, making the sign of the cross on the crown of the head with chrism (olive oil and balsam), one of the two anointments prescribed in the Catholic ceremony. Two-hundred years later priests at St. Jacob's repeated the identical rite. And the meaning of the sign also remained constant. From the 13th until at least the 18th century this anointment signified that the child had become one of Christ's anointed, a Christian, and the chrism in

24 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1621–1622, f.28v.: under diverse daily payments: Sept. 16, 1621, to wife of Louis Floris for helping polish the brass “vunt”: 6 stuyvers; Kerkrekening 1625–1626, f.18v.: “Betaelt 2 julij 1626 aen Hans Hendrickx als aengenomen hebbende het coperen scheel totte vunte op rekeninge van sijn contract 30 gl.”

25 RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115: 1: 28 Pluviose an 6 [Feb. 17, 1798]: f.1r.: “No 1 Dans les fond de Bateme/ Un bassin en marbre, et le couvert en cuivre jaune, avec une basculleen fer.”

26 Karant-Nunn 1997, 59; see the selection of Calvinist basins published in Van Swigchem 1984, 206.

27 De Raeymaecker 1977, 59.

28 *Christelyke Onderwyzing* 1751, 212: “*Den Priester vraegt, N. Wil gy gedoopt zyn; de Peters Antw. Ik wil* (The Priest asks, N.[the infant] do you wish to be baptized; the Godfathers answer. I wish it). This questioning by proxy continues throughout the ceremony.

29 Karant-Nunn 1997, 47 and 51.



FIGURE 4.4 *St. Jacob's baptismal font now installed in the 19th-century baptistery.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

particular, used to anoint bishops, indicated participation not only in the kingdom, but also in the priesthood of Christ.³⁰

Rogier's priest takes the oil and chrism from a small silver box divided into two compartments. A 1738–39 inventory of ornaments in St. Jacob's mentions a similar object: "In the font resting in a case in the wall, a little double silver box in which is kept the Holy Oil and Chrism."³¹ The entry describes a chrismatorium, used to store the sacred ointments, unlike the box in Rogier's picture, which apparently contains just enough of the precious stuff for the ceremony. St. Jacob's chrismatorium still survives, wrought 1624–25 by master silversmith Willem van der Mont (fig. 4.5).³² Van der Mont's work is the earliest example in a long line of matching, double cylinder pairs, inscribed C and O to avoid confusion, produced for Antwerp churches during the 17th and 18th centuries.³³ By storing the chrismatorium in a presumably locked case inserted into the wall, St. Jacob's conformed to what may have been accepted custom, which Carlo Borromeo earlier prescribed as the rule in his 1577 treatise on the construction and furnishing of churches.³⁴ The sacred ointments and their silver containers were thus guarded against theft and profanation.

Other parts of the ceremony employed things, words, and actions that left no material trace in the church, but were integral to the rite. It is above all the theme of exorcism that ties together the succession of signs in Catholic baptism. Splendid in his vestments, the priest asks first, What do you wish?, to which the godfather answers, baptism. Next, the priest breathes on the face of the child, and commands "Depart Satan from this image of God, chastised by him, and make way for the Holy Spirit." Signs of the cross traced with the right thumb over forehead and breast mark the infant with the strengthening character of Christ. Two prayers beseech God to grant his favor, and free the child from the bonds of Satan. Then the priest exorcizes and consecrates salt, a pinch of which he puts in the mouth, seasoning the child in wisdom and taste for God. Once more he commands the devil to depart, and this time the sign of the cross on the forehead is explicitly apotropaic, a shield warding off future evil. Having read the Gospel over the child, the priest moistens each ear with his spittle, opening them to the word of God. Touching the nostrils

30 Aquinas 1981, IV, 2384, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 66, Article 10; *Christelyke Onderwyzing* 1751, 215.

31 RAAKASJA 1171, 23: "In de Vunt plaetse berust in een Cassie in den muer een dobbel silveren busken waer in bewaert wordt D H: H: Olie en Crisma."

32 KIK: 60031/M8789: 18 cm. high.

33 *Kunstwerken uit de eeuw van Rubens* 1977, 111–113, nos. 122–124.

34 Borromeo 1960–1962, 53–54.



FIGURE 4.5 *Willem van der Mont. Chrismatorium.*
KIK 60031/M8789.

for a sweet smell, he bids the devil gone, still another time. A sign of the cross on the right hand strengthens the child against the Enemy. And then it is the godfather's turn, in place of the infant, to read the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Credo, the three prayers at the very beginning of the Mechelen Catechism, and then to answer the priest's questions in place of his charge. At last, held by godfather and priest, the child is baptized, then anointed with chrism, his or her head covered in a white cap that suggests the pure soul who hopefully will face Christ in judgment. Later in life, the parents will show this unspotted garment to their child as a reminder of the promises made at baptism in his or her name. Finally, the priest hands a burning candle to the godfather, as a sign of loving faith and an admonition to guard the spiritual well being of the child. A wonderful array of material signs activates all the child's senses to receive the grace of God, instructs the adult participants in the meaning of the sacrament, and confirms the godparent in his responsibility.

These ceremonies were continuous with late-Medieval practice. After 1585 they were standardized and clarified in significance for both the priest and the participants. Pastoral manuals in Latin, conforming to new the canons and rites of the Roman Ritual, spelled out for priests the correct way to administer the sacrament.³⁵ St. Jacob's purchased a copy in 1626 especially for its baptistery, agreeing as well with Carlo Borromeo's list of the things necessary to have on hand and store in the locked case that would be built into the baptistery's

35 Hauchinus 1624; Lottin 1984, 211.

walls.³⁶ Widely distributed handbooks of Christian instruction explained the rites and symbols to lay readers. My whole account in the previous paragraph is, for example, based on the 1751 edition (with calendar of moveable feasts from 1764–1785) of an anonymous *Christian Instruction and Prayers*, first published at Ghent in 1721, but on sale at Antwerp in the Lombardenvest shop of printer J.F. De Court. An inscription in the fly-leaf of the copy I used suggests the broad and solid audience of middle and working class readers whose virtue and obedience would have been reinforced by the interaction between what they read and the sacramental rites and ceremonies in which they participated: “This book belongs to Anna Maria Roelans 1780/ living in the Plow on Antwerp St. in Lier/ House-wife of Jacobus Joannes Steps having married 21 August 1780.”³⁷ It is easy to imagine that Anna Maria Roelans, expecting her first child, would soon have turned to the especially well-leafed pages on baptism in this nice wedding present, bound in leather and tooled in gold with pretty flowers.

In 1619 St. Jacob’s acquired a second kind of book for its baptistery, the baptismal register, in obedience to the Council of Trent’s decree. This register, along with those kept by the pastor to record marriages and deaths, enforced the Council of Trent’s decree that all Catholics should receive the sacraments in their parish church.³⁸ Suddenly Catholic parishes functioned as the repositories of unprecedentedly complete statistics about the local population.

The sparse entries in baptismal registers included the names of the child, parents, and godparents, the key participants in the sacrament. Indeed, the main purpose of the register was to prevent sinful marriages between couples related by spirit as well as blood. To this end, the Council of Trent restricted the number of godparents to one, or at most one man and one woman, and insisted that their names be recorded. A spiritual relationship was contracted “between these only and the one baptized, and his father and mother, and also between the one baptizing and the one baptized and the father and mother of the one baptized.”³⁹ Although the circle was tightened for this particular

36 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1625–1626, f.18v., 3 guilders for a “pastorael boek tot vunt”; Borromeo 1960–1962, 53.

37 *Christelyke Onderwyzing* 1751: “Desen boek hoort toe Aen Anna Maria Rooelans 1780 woonenende in de plogh in de antwerp straet tot Lier/ huys-vrouw van Jacobus Joannes Steps seyn getrowt 21 augustus 1780.” I presently own this copy.

38 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 185–186, Twenty-Fourth Session, Reform of the Matrimony, Chapt. II.

39 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 185–186, Twenty-Fourth Session, Reform of the Matrimony, Chapt. II.

reason, it does not necessarily follow, as John Bossy maintains, that what had been a communal rite of extended family in the late Middle Ages, was reduced to the narrow compass of the nuclear family, implementing a kind of divide and conquer strategy used by the Church to isolate and control individuals.⁴⁰

What does the actual practice, the combination of material things, words, and gestures that effected baptism at St. Jacob's, tell us about the sacrament's meaning as it changed through the 17th and 18th centuries? First, exorcism is the heart of the matter. The priest manifested his power to drive out the devil and ward off evil using his own breath infused with the Holy Spirit, spittle, sacred words, signs, holy water, salt, chrism, and oil. Between ceremonies, the font was covered, the chrism locked away, and the baptistery closed off by a balustrade, all to enhance the sacred presence of what was contained within. Baptism presented a unique opportunity to profoundly awe those who might turn elsewhere for supernatural help. That the Catholic Church pursued its intent in deadly earnest is proven tragically by the evidence introduced in 1642 at a court in Mechelen to convict and execute two women for witchcraft. After Anna Broothuys and Katlijne Janssens were tortured they confessed, among other things, to diabolical abnegation of baptism. Broothuys, from Mechelen, renounced the sacrament, and confirmation as well, before she sealed her contract with Satan. The character of Christ had to be erased from her soul. Janssens, who had lived in Antwerp, submitted to a damning black baptism by the devil who wiped away the chrism that still protected her head from the time of anointment. Then the devil set his own evil mark there instead, and pricked her left hand so she could sign her contract with him in blood, whereas the baptizing priest had signed her right hand with the cross in order to combat exactly this Enemy.⁴¹ Both women violated baptism not only by the ritual pacts they made with the devil, but also because they assisted in births, and were accused of harming children, thus picking up some of the taint attached to midwives whom the Antwerp bishops suspected of superstitious practices that went against the sacrament of the Church.⁴²

Second, the adjunct rites of baptism worked to purify knowledge of the world received through the senses that otherwise would open the soul to sinful temptation. A taste for God, an ear receptive to the divine word, a sweet smell, and a hand fortified in the service of Christ all were signified with visible signs. In this manner the Catholic Church devised the sacrament to match all five

40 Bossy 1973.

41 Marnef 1997, 249–250.

42 Marnef 1997, 245, for the crimes the women were accused of committing against children; Marinus 1995, 222, on Antwerp midwives.

senses. All the sacraments are external signs and therefore were constructed and analyzed to address the five senses.

Third, baptism reinforced the memory of Catholic teachings. It marked a kind of adult confirmation in which the ties of the godparent to the Church were renewed, as he or she answered the priest's questions, recited the common prayers, and was chastened by the spiritual bond formed with the child. This led to the fourth effect, the establishment and strengthening of communal bonds forged within the parish among child, parents, godparents, and priest. Even though there might be only one godparent, or two at most, nevertheless the intent was to place the responsibility for spiritual guardianship clearly and directly on that person.

4.4 Penance

The Catholic Credo taught by the Mechelen Catechism took as an article of faith that "the Holy Church of Jesus Christ has received the power to forgive all sins, no matter how great and many they might be."⁴³ As ministers of the Church, each confessor priest exercised the terrible power Christ had given to Simon: "You are Peter and on this rock I will build my Church. And the gates of the underworld can never hold out against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth shall be considered bound in heaven; whatever you loose on earth shall be considered loosed in heaven" (Matthew 16: 18–20). The priest gave "form" to the sacrament when he granted absolution. But the penitent supplied the "matter" through the heartfelt contrition, confession, and satisfaction that were required to make the sacrament effective.⁴⁴ One distinctive new characteristic of the Counter Reformation confessionals in St. Jacob's and other Antwerp churches is the life-size figures that enact these states of mind. If the appropriate emotions could be categorized and represented, then they could be reproduced in the process of the sacrament.

At the end of the 18th century St. Jacobs counted fifteen confessionals where the portals of heaven or the gates of hell were opened to each parishioner who

43 *Mechelsche Catechismus* 1916, 38: "Zeggende: *vergiffenis der zonden*, belijden wij dat de H. Kerk van Jesus-Christus de macht ontvangen heeft van alle zonden te vergeven, hoe groot en hoe talrijk die ook zouden wezen."

44 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 90–94.

confessed.⁴⁵ The confessionals stood away from the nave and aisles so as not to intrude on the central, parish space. They were located instead in several chapels along the north and south aisles and more importantly, arrayed in the east end; two in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel and one in the chapel of Our Lady, two inside each entrance to the ambulatory, and four in the ambulatory directly behind the choir. Apparently the Cathedral of Antwerp followed the same pattern of acquisition and location, and did not own a significantly larger quantity of confessionals.⁴⁶ At St. Jacob's the progressive increase in the number of confessionals, their gradually more elaborate decoration, the choice of their locations, and the records of their use, combine to chart the history of the sacrament of penance that takes on a distinctive profile within this one parish church. It is a history that of course participated in larger scale developments common to Catholicism, to the social and theological issues that changed the sacrament of penance in the South Netherlands, and to the unique application of figural decoration that occurred first in Antwerp confessionals.

The Counter Reformation Church invented confessionals explicitly to combat the perception and reality of priests as sexual predators, wolves who led their flock into sin exactly in the place where they should have protected their sheep. Temptation through lascivious words, touch, and glance was viewed as a danger inherent to the sacrament in which the intimate secrets of sexual transgressions were revealed. Late-medieval practice lent occasion to the abuse, because during the 15th and 16th centuries penitents knelt directly at the side or in front of their confessors, priests enthroned on chairs, whose laying on of hands in absolution could easily change to a caress (see above, fig. 4.2). Worse, this encounter might occur in hidden corners of the church, since there was no fixed place for priests to hear confession.⁴⁷ St. Carlo Borromeo, the model Counter Reformation bishop of late-16th-century Milan, decisively perfected the form of the confessional and introduced its widespread use as part of his campaign to separate the sacred and the profane by disciplining clergy and

45 RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115: 1: 28 Pluviose an 6 [Feb. 17, 1798]: f.1v.: Chapelle No 2 [Presentation of Virgin Chapel] un confessional; Chapelle No 3 de St. Antoyne, un confessional; f.2r.: Chapelle No 4 de St Rocque, un confessional, avec fauteuil; f.6v.: Chapelle No 7 du Venerable, un confessional, avec prie dieu; f.7r.: A l'entrée de la nef a droite du coeur, Dans la dit nef un confessional en bois de chêne, un confessional avec prie dieu en bois de chêne, Derriere le coeur quatre confessionals; fol.7r.: Dans la Nef à Gauche du Coeur, Deux confessionals en bois de chêne à chaque un, prie dieu; Chapelle No 18 de la Vierge, un confessional, avec boiserie; f.5v.: Chapelle No 19 [Holy Cross], un confessional; f.6r.: Chapelle No 23 [Lantschot, Sweet Name of Jesus], un petit confessional.

46 See Grieten and Bungeneers 1996, 313–314.

47 See Myers 1996, 47–60, on the practice of confession in late-medieval Germany.

laity alike.⁴⁸ In 1607 the Provincial Council of the Archdiocese of Mechelen signaled the quick adoption of confessionals in the Spanish Netherlands by decreeing that:

Where confessionals have not yet been erected, which separate the confessor by a perforated partition, and the penitent from those who follow by another partition, they should be erected at the expense of the churchwardens within three months of the publication of the decrees of this Council. From that time no one without permission of the ordinary should presume to hear confessions of women outside of confessionals of this kind, except in case of necessity.⁴⁹

It is evident that the primary motive was to separate women from priests. Whether that measure also was directed tacitly against the unspeakable crime—homosexuality—is hard to tell from the mostly silent records.⁵⁰ It appears that women more than men confessed frequently, chose one father confessor as a trusted spiritual guide, and took longer to tell their sins in the confessional.⁵¹ By 1607 a second concern, to protect inviolate the secrecy of confession, prompted the addition of a new element. A partition would isolate the next penitent in line, effectively a mirror duplication of the penitent's bench on the first side of the confessor's chair.⁵² The waiting penitent would kneel contritely in prayer on the other side, and when the priest was ready, he simply turned, opened the inner shutter that kept the waiting penitent from eavesdropping, and heard the new list of sins. Separation was reinforced

48 See the excellent “archaeology” of the confessional by De Boer 2001, 87–125.

49 De Ram 1828–1858, I, 372, Provincial Council, Mechelen, 1607:

Sacrament of penitence: “Caput III: Ubi erecta necdum sunt confessionalia, quae Confessarium à asserculo cancellato, ac poenitentem à sequentibus alio asserculo disjunctant, intra tres menses à publicatione decretorum hujus Concilii sumptibus fabricarum eriganturet ab eo tempore nemo sine licentia ordinarii extra ejusmodii confessionalia foeminarum confessiones audire praesumat, nisi in casu necessitatis.”

50 See Romeo 1998, 163–164, n.2, who notes that by 1622 the Catholic Church implemented legislation against all solicitation by priests of penitents, but that priests rarely were prosecuted for solicitation of males.

51 See Romeo 1998, 171–172, n.2, citing Jesuit correspondence that records increased demand from women of all classes throughout Italy to confess during the second half of the 16th century.

52 See De Boer 2001, 121–122, where the Jesuits of Milan are credited with introducing this innovation into their church S. Fedele in 1580–1581 and then during the 1590s obtaining official approval for its general use.

further in Antwerp confessionals by the addition of partitions on the outside of both penitents' benches, muffling the words curious ears might overhear. Two penitents' benches also shortened waiting time, especially during Holy Week when most parishioners lined up to fulfill their duty to confess at least once a year.⁵³

The two earliest confessionals recorded in St. Jacob's already conformed to the new model. Joiner Peeter Butkens built them 1598–1599 into the wainscoting decoration of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, each confessional furnished with “benches at the sides.”⁵⁴ The written evidence documents one of the first new confessionals in the city from which sprang the whole extraordinary tradition of Antwerp's decorated confessionals.⁵⁵

It was impossible in St. Jacob's to insert rows of multiple confessionals into wainscoting panels in the way that had been contrived for the aisles of the Antwerp Jesuit Church starting 1621 and later for the Antwerp Dominican Church. In St. Jacob's the continuous succession of chapels, flanking both aisles in the nave, left no space for a long row of confessionals. Instead, during the first half of the century the churchwardens installed confessionals inside these chapels; the St. Anna Chapel in 1615–1616, and then the chapels of St. Job, St. Anthony, St. Roch, the Holy Cross, and others.⁵⁶ Descriptions of them and the modest amount they cost indicate that these chapel confessionals were smaller and not lavishly ornamented. At least some of them accommodated fervent devotions centered on the patron saints and cults to which the chapels were dedicated. In 1657, for example, the churchwardens ceded control of the St. Roch Chapel to a wealthy private donor, only on condition that all the

53 See De Boer 2001, 121–122.

54 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, f.188v, 1598–1599: to Peeter Butkens “voirt maken ende solderen van de twee biechtstoelen metten bancken ter zyden”, 84 guilders. One of them is said to survive on the south side of the Chapel (this conclusion based on Van Lerijs 1855, 102, who dates the confessional to c.1600, dismisses its artistic value, and labels it anonymous. Clearly it was thought so deficient as to require ornament supplied in 1648, four angel caryatids by Artus Quellinus the Elder. But, see below, n.55, for Van Lerijs's second, contradictory, suggestion).

55 See Van Lerijs, Beschryving, (old number 560), 292, who suggested that the confessional depicted by Van Gemert (and by extension Von Ehrenberg, whose picture Van Gemert copied) might be one of those built by Peeter Butkens. But Von Ehrenberg and Van Gemert depict a decorative scheme dependent on later 17th-century examples.

56 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1615–1616, f.39r, under expenditures, for a confessional in the “St. Anna Choor,” 10 guilders; RAAKASJA R.29., Kasboek 1641–1644, f.142r., reimbursement to pastor Franciscus van den Bossche for what he spent on a confessional in “St. Jobs Capel”, 13 guilders 10 stivers. See above, n.45, for the other chapels.

masses and confessions said there must continue so that people would have recourse to the intervention of so powerful a saint in time of plague (see below, chapter 8 for the circumstances).

St. Jacob's churchwardens violated at least the spirit of reform in which confessionals were invented. Borromeo's ideal confessionals simultaneously hid the penitent and priest from each other's sight and, by keeping the front side open, exposed them in what were supposed to be the well lighted public spaces of the nave and aisles where watchful eyes could spot any furtive sexual contact.⁵⁷ For Borromeo chapels were a last and exceptional resort.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in St. Jacob's during the first half of the century all the confessionals were built in chapels, behind locked balustrades, often in shadow, and removed from public surveillance. Confessionals perversely offered more opportunity for sin.⁵⁹ Perhaps the elite families and brotherhoods who controlled the chapels wanted to establish for themselves privileged and exclusive precincts to receive the sacraments, similar to the private chapels attached to noble estates, but in this case contained within the parish church.

In 1627, almost thirty years after the first confessionals recorded in St. Jacob's, the pastor of the St. Willibrordus Church in Berchem, just outside the Antwerp city walls, yielded to the "desire of the rustics" in his congregation who still refused to confess through perforated grates. They felt comfortable only when the grates were removed as a concession to their tradition-bound country ways that persisted until mid-century. Despite the official decrees, no confessionals at all had been built in the rural churches of the diocese of Antwerp before 1618.⁶⁰ When Antwerp Jesuit Joannes Steegius published a picture catechism for illiterates in 1647, he illustrated the sacrament of penance with a peasant who kneels directly in front of the priest to confess his sins, indicating that this still was the norm for many, as if nothing had changed since the late Middle Ages.⁶¹

By contrast, the new confessionals were predominantly an urban phenomenon, pushed in Antwerp to an extreme degree of ornamentation through competition among the city's churches that reached its climax between 1658 and

57 See De Boer 2001, 104.

58 See Borromeo in Barocchi, ed. 1960–1962, III, 68.

59 See Haliczzer 1996, 156, for striking and poignant occurrences of this kind of transgression in 17th-century Spain.

60 See De Raeymaecker 1977, 59.

61 See Steegius 1647, 24–25, under commandment v of the Church. See Haliczzer 1996, 100, and Myers 1996, 139–140, who document the slow and uneven diffusion of confessionals in, respectively, 17th-century Spain and Germany.

1660.⁶² During these years the Antwerp Dominicans raised the stakes when they installed a new decorative program that increased the number of confessionals to ten, five along each aisle in the nave (fig. 4.6). Life-sized angels and penitent saints now enacted a pantomime of grief, contrition, and admonition, in a heavenly host assembled along both aisles.⁶³ The new Dominican confessionals sparked an explosion of imitations that spread out across the Dutch-speaking region of the South Netherlands.⁶⁴

In the previous chapter I have documented how, at exactly this juncture, a financial crisis threatened to close St. Jacob's doors. The churchwardens' strategy of survival, by which they would employ a splendid image of magnificence and establish new institutions to consolidate St. Jacob's as the church of the city's elite, created the immediate demand for new confessionals that would rival those in the Dominican Church.

Although St. Jacob's churchwardens had no opportunity to build continuous banks of confessionals, they adapted the innovative design of the individual confessionals in the Dominican program and, between 1660 and 1665, fitted them as separate units into the space opened up by completion of the choir, ambulatory, and radiating chapels. Two canons of the recently founded collegiate chapter each donated a confessional, Bartolomeo de Succa around 1660 and Franciscus de Wolff in 1664, "for use in penitence and to ornament the church" (fig. 4.7).⁶⁵ These were set between the first and second intervals of

62 It is possible that the directors of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in St. Jacob's helped spark the rivalry in 1657–1658 when they replaced one of the old confessionals carved by Peeter Butkens with an expensive new one commissioned from sculptor Karstiaen Keldermans. Because no visual trace of Kelderman's work survives, it is impossible to assess its contribution to the accelerated development of confessionals: see RAAKASJA B.8., *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692 f.119r.*, 1657–1658, under expenses, 125 guilders to Karstiaen Keldermans for making the confessional; f.129v., 1659–1660, for an old confessional sold at the Friday market: 2 guilders 12 1/2 stivers. Also see FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the *kerkrekeningen*, St. Jacob's/25: *Wijdingen van Kerk, Kapellen, Altaren, Kruisweg enz. Viering van den Kerk wydingdag*, 15, who records that Keldermans received 243 guilders for the confessional and thought it most likely that one of Butkens's earlier confessionals was replaced because it did not fit the decorative scheme of the wainscoting, although it also is possible that it was either ruined or no longer agreed with the taste of the directors.

63 See Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970, 176–177, nos. 14–15. See Marinus 1995, 194–202, for the context of inter-order rivalry.

64 See Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970, 102–162, and distribution map between 102–103, for a detailed and persuasive account.

65 RAAKASJA 2797, 1656–1675: *Actorum Capituli Liber I*, 256: An agreement was signed by the dean of the chapter on Nov. 4, 1664, reserving to Franciscus de Wolff the "sedem



FIGURE 4.6 *Antwerp Dominican Church (now St. Paul's) north aisle confessionals.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 4.7 *Confessionals donated 1660 and 1664 by Canons De Succa and De Wolff in the south ambulatory.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

the choir piers inside the entrance to the south ambulatory. Because they both are built of oak, along one line of sight, on the same scale, in identical proportions, with the same architectural profile, and rhythmic measure of parts, the two confessionals join together as a larger decorative ensemble that resembles the massed effect of the confessional rows in the Dominican Church.

In the first, given by De Succa, two angels vary the poses and counterpoint gestures of grief already developed in the confessional angels of the Dominican Church (fig. 4.8). The relationship is close enough to indicate direct borrowing if not participation by members of the same extended workshop.⁶⁶ A relief of the Trinity set over the confessor's chair indicates the divine source of the priest's authority to absolve sinners.

The second confessional, donated in 1664 by Canon Franciscus de Wolff, reproduced more faithfully the distinctive new features introduced in the Dominican Church (fig. 4.9). The downcast angels of the confessor's chair now stand on their own legs instead of transforming back into the oaken blocks from which they were carved. A relief, positioned over the confessor's chair, depicts Christ's role in the process of salvation more gently through a scene of the Holy Family accompanied by St. John the Baptist and an angel. The chief female and male penitent saints—Mary Magdalen holding a skull on the left and Peter pressing his key contritely to his breast on the right—enclose the penitents' benches, similar to the saints on the Dominican confessionals. But the St. Jacob's figures acquired greater animation through their fully articulated legs, unlike the Dominican saints whose lower bodies harden into architectural forms.

In 1692–1693, almost thirty years later, a second pair of confessionals was installed in the north entrance to St. Jacob's ambulatory, matching the older pair on the south side (fig. 4.10). All four testified to the new wealth and power of St. Jacob's collegiate chapter. Canons of the chapter, as noted, contributed the older pair. Henricus Hillewerwe, one of the church's more generous benefactors who especially supported the chapter and its choir space, donated the

confessionalem ornatam sculptis imaginibus duorum Angelorum Mariæ magdalenæ atque Apostoli Petri positam iuxta confessionalem R.D. Canonici Bartholemei de Succa e regioni sacelli Dm. Carillio ad usam pænitentium atque in ecclesiæ ornamentum, datam a R.D. Canonico Francisco de Wolff" (the confessional seat decorated with sculpted images of two angels, Mary Magdalen, and the Apostle Peter, placed next to the confessional of Canon Bartholomeus de Succa and in the vicinity of the Carrillo Chapel, for use of penitence and ornament of the church, given by Canon Franciscus de Wolff).

66 See Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970, 174, no. 10, 1, who connects the angels to the first and fifth confessionals on the north aisle of the Dominican Church.



FIGURE 4.8 *Confessional donated by Canon De Succa.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

two confessionals on the north side of the ambulatory (see above, chapter 3, on Hillewerwe's donation of St Jacob's high altar retable, below, chapter 7, on Hillewerwe and the collegiate chapter). His strong personal stamp is on them, in the principles of beauty they embody and the sacred figures they display.

Hillewerwe must have instructed his chosen sculptor, the same Ludovicus Willemssens who had carved St. Jacob's new pulpit in 1673, to follow closely the design and proportions of the confessional donated by Canon De Wolff in 1664.⁶⁷ Positions of the figures, profiles of base and entablature, locations

67 See RAAKASJA 984, *Uyttreksels uyt den Reken Boeck van den Eerweerden en Edelen Heer Henricus Hillewerwe nu ter tyd (1846) berustende onder Jonker Ludovicus Le Candele*



FIGURE 4.9 *Confessional donated by Canon De Wolff.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

of the fields carved in relief, all are very similar. Subtle variations mark differences, as for example, in the change from the Doric triglyph to the Ionic egg and dart ornament on the pedestals below each angel. Although Willemsens's elegant figures satisfied the desire for increased refinement, they do not diverge radically from their stockier ancestors of 1664. Despite the separation of more

te Antwerpen [in Van Lerijs hand]: Jan. 20, 1693 betaelt voor eenen anderen nieuwen Biechtstoel in St. Jacob aen den timmerman And. Janssen g.250, ende aen den beelthouwer Willems (Willemsens) g.200–450 guldens.



FIGURE 4.10 *Confessionals donated 1692–1693 by Henricus Hillewerwe in the north ambulatory.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

than a generation, St. Jacob's churchwardens and donors continued to apply the antique principles of uniformity and symmetry that gradually brought the ornament of their church into harmonious alignment.

Although his artistic choices conformed to the larger decorative order, Hillewerwe dictated which saints would ornament his confessionals. Henricus's own and his wife Margareta Catharina Goos's name saints, Henry and Margaret of Antioch, grace the first (fig. 4.11). St. Francis, patron of Hillewerwe's brother Franciscus, canon and actuary of the Cathedral chapter as well as provisor of St. Jacob's, and St. Clare in honor of his sister-in-law Clara Goos, stand on the second, felicitously paired as the male and female founders of the Franciscan orders (fig. 4.12). The angels of these confessionals directly address the priest and penitent. Between Saints Henry and Margaret, one angel admonishes the priest to silence, thus assuring the secrecy of confession. The second angel holds an open book in his left hand, presses the right to his heart, while a dove nestles at his feet, personifying the sincere contrition expected of the penitent. The angels between Saints Clare and Francis display inscriptions: *I placed my hope in you Lord (In te Domine speravi)*; [Psalm 30:2: Vulgate]; a contrite heart



FIGURE 4.11 *Confessional donated by Henricus Hillewerve with Saints Henry and Margaret of Antioch.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

(*Cor contritum*; Psalm 50:19; Vulgate; fig. 4.13).⁶⁸ The passages might prompt recitation of the psalms from which they are extracted. An 18th-century Flemish devotional guide recommended Psalm 50 over the other seven penitential psalms as the one most suitable for contrite sinners.⁶⁹

A 1676 memorandum detailing churchwardens' responsibilities mentions "the four fathers who sit in the confessionals". They probably sat in four

68 See Van Lerijs 1856, 132–133; Zajadacz-Hastenrath 1970, 174, no. 4, inscriptions, and no. 5, observes that the angels repeat the poses and iconography of a pair in the 1683 confessionals of the former Jesuit Church in Mechelen; Ripa 1644, where Sincerity is described as holding a dove in one hand and her heart in the other.

69 *Christelyke Onderwyzinghe* 1751, 310.



FIGURE 4.12 *Confessional donated by Henricus Hillewerwe with Saints Francis and Clare.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

confessionals located behind the choir in the eastern end of the ambulatory.⁷⁰ At least four other priests—a minimum of eight in total—regularly heard confession in the church. They occupied permanent and prestigious offices—the pastor, provost of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel (usually the assistant pastor), canons De Succa and De Wolff and the successors to their prebends in the collegiate chapter. Each of these priests sat in a confessional reserved for him exclusively. In the Blessed Sacrament Chapel one confessional was reserved for the pastor and a second for the Chapel provost. Canons De Succa and De Wolff

70 RAAKASJA 51, f.6v.; for the four confessionals around the ambulatory in the east end of the church, see above, n.45.



FIGURE 4.13 *Detail of fig. 4.12; Angel touching his heart with a banderol inscribed: "COR CONTRITVM [ET] HVMILIATVM DEVS NON DESP[ICIES]," carved by Ludovicus Willemsens.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

had donated their confessionals only on condition that they alone could hear confessions in them.⁷¹

By 1670 penitents in St. Jacob's could choose from different possibilities. They might confess to one of the four priests sitting behind the choir, thus engaging in a more anonymous transaction. They could turn to the sacraments ministered in the chapel of one or another saint whose cult they observed, coming closer to the source of help from St. Roch or St. Anthony. Or they might seek out one of the priests who held exclusive rights to a particular confessional, and cultivate with him the kind of long-term and trusting relationship that transformed penance into a source of spiritual consolation and a guide to living the good life, what the Catholic Church set as the ideal practice of the sacrament of penance. When this happened, the priest's confessional took on association with the person, the comfort and guidance he provided.

Although St. Jacob's, unlike the Jesuits and Dominicans, did not implement a coordinated program of confessors and confessionals to encourage the sacrament of penance, it is clear that by the late 17th century the gradual accumulation of resources had in fact achieved a similar end, partly through accommodating the varied groups active within the church. Unlike the Jesuits and Dominicans, the churchwardens of St. Jacob's never built monumental rows of confessionals along the nave of their church as a constant exhortation to repent. Instead, between 1660 and 1700, they located most confessionals in the more removed circuit of the ambulatory. It opened a different space in the building reserved for the sacrament. Confession here could be made in a quieter place, separate from the more public nave and flanked by private chapels on one side and the exclusive choir on the other. By 1700 eight confessionals, placed symmetrically and rhythmically, formed a defining ornament around the inside of the ambulatory's curve.

Elaborately ornamented confessionals in St. Jacob's also answered to occasions, when parts of the building were completed or redecorated. In 1748–1749 the Our Lady Chapel commissioned the last new confessional from sculptor Franciscus Somers and joiner N. Voet at a very high cost. Two angels displaying a caretellino, carved by Joannes Hoorenbееck, were added on top in 1761–1762 (fig. 4.14).⁷² This confessional replaced an older work of much less

71 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/25: Wijdingen van Kerk, Kapellen, Altaren, Kruisweg enz. Viering van den Kerk wydingdag: 99: two confessionals in the chapel, one for the provost or chaplain of the chapel, the second for the pastor

72 See Van Lerijs, Beschryving, RAAKASJA (old number 560), 515: below the Brouckhoven window, confessional, acquired 1748–1749, at cost of 416 guilders to joiner N. Voet and 900



FIGURE 4.14 *Our Lady Chapel Confessional.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

value and put the finishing touch to the wainscoting decoration along the chapel's north wall. The Our Lady Chapel now equaled the magnificence of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, its counterpart on the south side. Penitents Mary Magdalen and the Prodigal Son, the swine at his foot, stand on either side of the confessor's chair, while personifications of Justice and Truth guard the outer partitions (fig. 4.15). Relief medallions of St. Anna, the Virgin Mary, St. Joachim, and of the Virgin's monogram reiterate the dedication of the chapel to the mother of Christ.

Competition, I have argued, spurred the development of elaborate ornament, and it is now evident that St. Jacob's competed successfully with other churches partly because the separate institutions within the parish church

guilders to sculptor Franciscus Somers, "aen welken men voor 25 guldens courant, den ouden biechtstoel," that under the Annunciation window, was sold. 1761–1762, two angels with cartellino above were added, by Joannes Hoorenbeeck; Van Lerijs 1855, 144, remarks that the caryatids depict the blindness of the sinner and the sinner justified and concludes that because of the extreme mediocrity of the figures, "Ce confessional est indigne d'un aussi admirable temple."; Zajądacz-Hastenrath 1970, 174, no. 10, 6.



FIGURE 4.15 *Detail of fig. 4.14; St. Mary Magdalen penitent, carved by Franciscus Somers.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

competed among themselves. On the larger scale set by the city's economy, rivalry among proliferating church institutions accelerated the growth of an industry in religious art that depended on the Catholic Church's systematic reconstruction and modernization of the buildings that framed its sacred rites.⁷³ Confessionals in St. Jacob's, part of the vast repertoire of religious art, from pulpits to bells, were produced by a consumer-driven economy that met an enormous demand stimulated from within by the Catholic Church itself.

But in Counter Reformation Antwerp this economy of religious art strengthened the Catholic Church's deeper purpose after the Council of Trent to regain control and then to transform society through religion, constructing in the end an unshakeable edifice based on the foundation of a reformed secular clergy and its network of parishes. Historians have reached a consensus, currently under revision, that the sacrament of penance furnished the central medium through which this goal could be attained, and that confessionals shaped penance as an experience that imposed social discipline and control, reinforcing the morality of guilt and fear already conditioned by sermons, prayers, and images. However, the dramatic elaboration of ornament and increase in the number of confessionals that started in Antwerp's churches around 1660 and continued into the 18th century did not simply mark the end of a progressive evolution in service of the Catholic Church's monolithic imposition of social control. Instead, the new confessionals were built as a line of defense against the South Netherlandish and French Jansenists who exactly at this moment attacked the Catholic Church from within for its proliferation of superficial, outward devotion and superfluous ornament.

The Jansenists tried especially hard to root out the corruption they believed the Jesuits had introduced into the practice of confession. Antwerp's Jesuits had triumphantly proclaimed the opposite in their 1640 *Image of the Society of Jesus's First Century*. They celebrated restitution of the sacrament of penance as one of their greatest achievements, a Herculean labor: "Before the advent of the Society, the practice of confession among the Belgians was rare and held widely in contempt: which was the first step to heresy. By means of confession, than which there is no greater bridle to restrain liberty of life, mother of all vices," the morality of society had been transformed.⁷⁴ But according to powerful Jansenist opponents such as Jacob Boonen, archbishop of Mechelen, the Jesuits had achieved this success only at the expense of cheapening confession,

73 See Goldthwaite 1993.

74 See *Imago Primi saeculi*, 783–784: "Ante Societatis adventum rarus Belgis & ferè exosus Confessionis vsus: qui primus ad haereses gradus fuit. Confessione, nullo magis freno compescitur vitae libertas, mater omnium vitiorum."

offering it too frequently, granting absolution for sins not confessed, and consequently attracting the crowds who constrained them to water it down even more. Boonen in 1654 accused the Jesuits of slackening the reins on sinners and he tried to use his power to limit the Jesuits' right to hear confessions from the laity, because he blamed their laxity for the chill in Christian charity and the moral decline that he saw dragging down his archdiocese, which included Antwerp. Jansenists like Boonen also attacked the Jesuits and the mainstream Catholic Church for turning devotion into an outward show through excessive ornament and ritual.

The new fashion for elaborately decorated confessionals that quickly spread outward from the Antwerp Dominican Church after 1658 therefore aggressively reinforced the practices that had developed during the 17th century in the South Netherlands. They invited the faithful to confess more frequently and used ornament to persuade. That was true in St. Jacob's as well.

Devotional handbooks encouraged parishioners to choose a confessor freely and carefully. Clear signs identified a good father-confessor. He lived an irreproachable life, was filled with love, learned, prudent in judgment, understood the importance of the task that he performed with humility, sought nothing from his penitents other than their salvation, and changed the lives of those who confessed to him by turning them away from sin: "Seek one like this; pray to God that you find him; ask others for advice; and if you have found him, thank God; stay with him, and seek no other, go to him often, and follow all his advice, and do nothing significant without his advice."⁷⁵ The way in which the confessional itself shaped this experience has been debated.

John Bossy certainly exaggerated the abruptness of the break that occurred between what he presents as the public, communal penance of the late Middle Ages and the new isolation of individuals, literally put in boxes, controlled by the Counter Reformation Church.⁷⁶ As noted above, the primary purpose of confessionals, to prevent sexual contact between priests and penitents, was

75 *Christelyke Onderwyzynghe* 1751, 272–273, citing the Roman Catechism, St. Teresa, St. Francis of Sales: "Zoekt zoo eenen; en bid Godt om zoo eenen te bekomen; vraegt hier in raed van andere: en zoo eenen bekomen hebbende, bedankt Godt; blyft hem by, en zoekt geen anderen, gaet gestadig by hem, en tracht, in alles te volgen sijnen raed, en doet niet merkelykx zonder sijnen raed."

76 De Boer 2001, 86–87, questions Bossy's thesis that confessionals broke down the public function of confession into a private and individual experience. De Boer also challenges the alternative view that confessionals by their conspicuous presence in church interiors announced the Counter Reformation claim to jurisdiction over the soul.

furthered by the demand to locate them in public places and to keep their front sides open to view. In Antwerp's Dominican and Jesuit churches, where rows of lavishly ornamented confessionals lined both sides of the nave, the sacrament of penance may often have taken on the aspect of an ostentatious public ritual. But it has been shown that this was not the case in the parish church of St. Jacob's where the confessionals stood outside the more heavily trafficked areas. And it cannot be denied that in general the confessional transformed penance into a more private and mysterious experience.

Confessionals changed the sacrament of penance in these fundamental ways. The penitent was separated from the sight and touch of the priest. The penitent was forced to kneel in a posture of humility and submission. The hidden face of the priest represented much more effectively the power of God. The penitent was separated from the noise and sights of the profane world in a closed and darkened place. The penitent was forced to wait his or her turn in the same kneeling position while engaged in contrite prayer and thus the mind was turned inward to reflection and recollection. Sculptures of saints and angels exhorted penitence and set examples. Sculptural reliefs demonstrated the divine origin of the sacrament in Christ. Confessionals, often reserved for use by one priest, were closely associated with the long and deep relationship that ideally was established between penitent and father-confessor. Confessionals served as constant reminders that the sacrament of penance was necessary for salvation and could offer spiritual consolation to those who used it. Confessionals reinforced the sacred value of the saints and cults in whose chapels they were placed. Confessionals commemorated the individuals who donated them to the church.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have documented the new Counter Reformation ministration of baptism and penance in St. Jacob's. Both sacraments were reformed in practice after the Council of Trent. St. Jacob's implemented the changes mandated by the Archdiocese of Mechelen and the Diocese of Antwerp. A stone baptismal font, a baptismal register, chrismatorium, and pastoral handbook according to Roman ritual created a new standard version of the sacrament for the parish church. Confessionals fundamentally reconfigured the sacrament of penance to prevent sexual contact and fix the relationship between kneeling penitent and the enthroned judge-priest. But the location of confessionals in the chapels and ambulatory of St. Jacob's answered more to the varied

functions of penance in parish life, than to the strict requirement for exposure in a public place set down by Carlo Borromeo who first perfected the Counter Reformation confessional and disseminated its use.

Both sacraments ordered experience and the signification of meaning according to an analytical theory of the five senses. Partitions between priest and penitent blocked the ravishing sense of sight, but words could pass through the perforated grate. At baptism the priest's spittle in the child's ear opened the way to hear the word of God. Visible signs dramatized the key elements of the sacraments to impress the faithful with their solemnity and meaning. Expressive figures of penitent saints stood in front of the confessionals where they enacted the emotions and gestures proper to the necessary contrition. These objects that gave physical shape to the spiritual form of the sacraments were carefully located in distinct parts of the church from which they derived a greater symbolic value.

The same was true, only on a grander scale, for the sacraments of communion and holy matrimony that were ministered in the separate "great chapel" to which the next chapter is devoted.

The Blessed Sacrament Chapel and the Marriage Chapel

5.1 Introduction

The Eucharist is the heart of Catholic worship “so far as it is the sacrifice of the Church.”¹ In St. Jacob’s the Blessed Sacrament Chapel animated that devotion. The Blessed Sacrament Chapel kept St. Jacob’s alive when other parts of the church, the parish itself and its confraternities, withered and died. Ornament sprang up again most quickly in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel after the iconoclasts uprooted it in 1566 and 1580. During the Counter Reformation the Blessed Sacrament Chapel flourished more luxuriantly than other institutions in St. Jacob’s. The chapel expanded twice. It grew by a third in 1664–5 and then added a smaller inner chapel to house the consecrated host. That smaller space also served as an exclusive marriage chapel, the only one of its kind to survive, decorated in a unified program of illusionistic wall paintings and sculpture. Members of Antwerp’s artistic professions served as wardens of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel with an intensity of commitment unequalled in the other chapels and brotherhoods of the church. Two chapel wardens in particular, one an art dealer and the other a silversmith, transformed the chapel at critical junctures. They commissioned innovative masterpieces of Flemish sculpture and the silversmith fashioned with his own hands sacred vessels that glorified worship of the Eucharist. Finally, three Spanish merchants provided the impetus to build the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in the mid-16th century. Later a monumental stained glass window donated by a Spanish merchant intertwined the ascent of the ruling Hapsburg dynasty with veneration of the Eucharist and by extension with the new triumph of Catholicism. The chapel inspired a tenacious group loyalty that was renewed continuously by its decoration. St. Jacob’s Sacrament Chapel became a vital center of Counter Reformation fervor in Antwerp.

1 Aquinas 1981, IV, 2359, *Summa Theologica* Pt.III, Question 63, Article 6.

5.2 The Eucharist Chapel at St. Jacob's

The Eucharist is the greatest sacrament of the Church because in it “there is the Author Himself of sanctity before it is used.”² Through transubstantiation the bread and wine become the real body and blood of Christ in a doctrine that the Catholic Church held since 1215. Sacrificed at every mass, venerated as an object of worship, and eaten at communion, the consecrated host was displayed as the most visible of sacraments, because the Catholic Church needed to convince the faithful that they saw what only faith could credit.³ At the center, the host itself (*hostia* in Latin means sacrificial victim), circular image of God's perfection, often was imprinted with signs of Christ's sacrifice. The personification of Faith standing at the front of St. Jacob's pulpit displays a cross to which the sculptor Ludovicus Willemsens affixed in 1690 a consecrated host. Gilded rays of divine light radiate outwards, and a Crucifixion imprinted at the center makes explicit the real presence of Christ's body in the holy bread.⁴ (see above, fig. 3.15).

At St. Jacob's that incarnation of divinity was glorified in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, a latecomer that conformed to the pattern already set by chapels and altars built throughout the Netherlands to venerate the Eucharist. Usually, as at St. Jacob's, these chapels stood in close proximity to the high altar of a church where the consecrated host always was present.⁵ All the sacrament chapels or altars built in Antwerp churches occupied the same position—on the south, Epistle Side of the high altar.⁶ They never came alone, but always joined in a symmetrical pair, coupled with an Our Lady Chapel located in the equivalent place on the north side (see the next chapter for St. Jacob's Our Lady Chapel). These chapels, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to the Eucharist, attained a separate institutional status as “great chapels” that

2 Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent 1950, 74, Thirteenth Session, Chapt. III.

3 Rubin 1991, 288–294.

4 Molanus 1771, 492, also mentioning hosts imprinted with Mary and the child, or the Assumption of Mary. 18th-century editor Paquot thought these Marian images inapt, a sign of more rigorous demand for Christological iconography.

5 In two prominent Brabant churches. St. Gummarus in Lier and St. Pieter's in Leuven, Sacrament Chapels were located in the radial ambulatories: see Leemans 1972, 141.

6 See plans of the Cathedral, St. Jacob's, St. Andries, St. Paulus (formerly Dominican Church), St. Walburgis, and St. Joris Churches, respectively nos. I, II, III, IV, XV, and XVI, in De Wit 1910. Also see Prims 1923, 65, on the Sacrament Chapel founded early in the 16th century in the St. Joris Church. See Visschers 1853, I, 17, 240, who records that a Sacrament Chapel was dedicated 1530 in the St. Andries Church, but that the Sacrament Chapel as built adjacent to the choir was begun only in 1660.

accorded them special privileges to sources of income, burial fees for instance, and to precedence in ritual order.⁷ In the 17th century they realized the Counter Reformation Church's intention to restore the central devotions of the Virgin and Eucharist that had been cast down by the Calvinist enemy.

We have seen already that the Sacrament Chapel at St. Jacob's was built 1549–1554 in an act of fervent devotion. A core group of Spanish merchants swore in the church in the presence of an assembly of Antwerp's patricians that they would contribute to the work, at the moment when the very existence of St. Jacob's was in doubt (see above, chapter 1). The chapel's construction marked the unique large-scale building project completed in St. Jacob's between the paralysis brought on by Lutheran dissent around 1525 and the boom driven after 1585 by the determination of the Spanish to establish the Catholic Church as one of the dominant institutions in South Netherlands society. Willem Swaen who led the mid-16th century building campaign derived his official status from serving as warden of the Sacrament Chapel. Swaen and his supporters apparently planned to found a self-sufficient, active institution, loyal to the central mystery of the faith, even as the larger organization of St. Jacob's parish and the Catholic Church itself, were under siege.

In its first state the Blessed Sacrament Chapel comprised three newly built rib-vaulted sections, or bays (see fig. 1.6 above). They combined in an oblong rectangular space on the east side of the south transept. The northernmost bay, closest to the newly begun choir, occupied the area that later offered entrance to the ambulatory.⁸ The Eucharist Chapel enclosed a distinct, separate enclave within the larger, still incomplete parish church. After consecration of the chapel in 1554 it housed a devotion founded in St. Jacob's by 1476 at the latest, and also a guild or brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament likely active since late in the 15th century.⁹

This and the similar brotherhoods affiliated with Antwerp's parish and regular order churches participated in the wider late-medieval devotion

7 RAAKASJA 630. Beginsel ende Voortganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen, f.111r: 1658; rules for collections by the two great chapels—Blessed Sacrament and Our Lady—and by the “small chapels”; RAAKASJA B.17, *Memori boeck van alle De Donderdaegsche gesongemissen, ende de andere fondatien, in de Cappelle van HH Sacrament*, memoranda preceding title-page: 1658, churchwardens permit “de groote Capellen” (great chapels) to process and collect alms in the traditional manner.

8 See above, chapter 1, n.56.

9 See RAAKASJA B.13., f.1r. record of legacies to the chapel, the earliest dated 1476, with no reference to a guild.

centered on the Eucharist.¹⁰ But the devout fervor of St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament guild intensified just at the moment when the other Eucharist brotherhoods in Antwerp faded away. This general decline contradicts the assumption that Eucharistic devotion thrived in the Netherlands during the mid-16th century.¹¹ St. Jacob's Sacrament guild, however, left few records prior to 1554, and then burst into activity after taking possession of its own chapel.¹² The new chapel and its decoration prepared the symbolic ground in which the devotion of the small group of founders could thrive. The officers of the Sacrament guild shaped their chapel's future to this end.

Four "altar and chapel wardens" controlled the finances of the guild and chapel.¹³ They began to keep regular annual accounts in 1556 and continued up to 1803, interrupted only by the official prohibitions of the Calvinist Republic in 1582–1584 and of the French Republic in 1797–1802, thus demonstrating a remarkable persistence.¹⁴ Until the early 17th century an entrance fee of one guilder excluded the working poor.¹⁵ Exceptions were made later to admit a number of poor women. By 1620 the guild had disappeared, leaving participation in the chapel more open and less restricted to one narrow group. However, the chapel wardens now exercised greater control. It is likely that the successful artists, wealthy merchants, building contractors, and craftsmen who served as chapel wardens represented the larger social mix of the guild's members,

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- 10 See Claessens 1969, 10–11, 27, 31, 36, for the Blessed Sacrament brotherhoods founded in Antwerp respectively in the Church of Our Lady (1438), St. Walburgis Church (1498), St. Joris Church (1545, perhaps already active in 1487?), Dominicans (1479). See Rubin 1991, for the pan-European context of devotion to the Eucharist.
 - 11 See Pollman 2006, 92, who cites Caspers 1992 119. But Caspers bases his claim mostly on the foundation of a Blessed Sacrament arch-confraternity in Rome in 1539 and provides German but no Netherlands examples of branches at the time.
 - 12 See FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 1–4.
 - 13 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, f.1r, where the officers refer to themselves in these terms.
 - 14 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620; RAAKASJA B.10, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692; RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of, inventory 1737; RAAKASJA B.10, Rekeningboek: 1727–1728–1759–1760; RAAKASJA B.11, Rekeningboek 1760–1761–1780–1781; RAAKASJA B.12, Rekeningboek 1781–1782/1811–1812.
 - 15 See FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 1: membership was open "soo van mans als vrouwe die voor incomgelt gaven een gulde en voor doot schult 4 stuyvers en jaerlyx eene stuyver."

both male and female.¹⁶ Given the average of five members who died each year between 1556 and 1566, it is likely that St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament guild fitted into the type of medium-sized brotherhood that stood between smaller, more exclusive groups and the large, mass organizations such as rosary confraternities (see below, chapter 9, for these different kinds of confraternity).¹⁷

5.3 Decoration and Use to 1566

After 1556 the Sacrament guild enjoyed a steady income. Annual dues, contributions, house rents, legacies, and burial fees paid for the chapel's decoration.¹⁸ A *Last Supper*, probably carved in wood and painted in polychrome, stood on the altar.¹⁹ Since the 15th century *The Last Supper* had become the obvious choice for Sacrament chapel altarpieces, because it depicts the moment when Christ instituted the Eucharist.²⁰ In St. Jacob's Sacrament Chapel *The Last Supper* remained the theme through five successive generations of altar retables.

The consecrated host itself was displayed twofold for perpetual veneration. It resided first in a large, silver ciborium ensconced above the altar in a niche secured by a gilded grillwork.²¹ St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament Chapel, by 1554, also followed the Brabant custom of glorifying the Eucharist in a "sacrament

16 Chapel wardens in 1562–1563 were Cornelis Janssens, Peeter de Haze, Aert vanden Bemde, and Jan Gheens (See A RAAKASJA B.7, f.54r.). Janssens could be identical with a man of the same name registered as a master mason in the guild of St. Luke in 1556 (see Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1864–1876, I, 196). Peeter de Haze could have belonged to the prominent merchant family that maintained close ties with St. Jacob's well into the 17th century (RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1629–1630, records donations by Peeter and G. de Haze; this later Peeter served as chapel warden of the St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament Chapel from 1624–1629; see RAAKASJA B.8, f.18r–30v.).

17 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620.

18 Between 1556 and 1566 income averaged 211 guilders per year. See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, f.1v.–f.71v.

19 See FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], I, extracts from 1550–1554: "Item gegeven den schilder die davontmael ende de tween andere syden gestoffeert heeft."

20 See De Poorter 1978, I, 193, n.90, for a list of 16th-century Flemish Last Supper triptychs often painted for Blessed Sacrament confraternities and chapels.

21 See Braun 1973, 280–347, on ciboria; RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, f.2r., payment in 1556 to gild the grillwork and to polish (bruyneren) the ciborium.

house.”²² These towers of stone, wood, or bronze rose adjacent to the high altars where the host was present but hidden behind choir enclosures. At St. Jacob’s the wooden “sacrament house” was located instead in the Sacrament Chapel where the faithful could feast their eyes on the enshrined host.²³ A mural painter, Pauwels, covered the vaults and pillars of the chapel with a pattern of hosts and chalices.²⁴

In this newly ornamented sanctuary the guild’s chaplain, usually St. Jacob’s assistant pastor, celebrated sung masses each Sunday and Thursday morning, Thursday the day of the Last Supper, when the chaplain placed the ciborium on the altar for veneration. At the climax of the chapel’s year, the Feast of Corpus Christi (a moveable feast between late May and mid-June), St. Jacob’s pastor led a procession joined by clergy, musicians, school children, and candle bearers who went ahead of some hundred Sacrament guild members, carrying paper flags imprinted with symbols of the Eucharist.²⁵

22 See FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 1, extracts from 1550–1554: “Item gegeven Lodewyck der cleynstekker van den heylyghen Sacraments huysse te snyden ende te setten 59 guldens.”

23 See Maere 1946, on what were referred to consistently in 16th-century documents as “sacramentshuysen.” See also Paquot in Molanus 1771, 493, note F: “In variis Belgii dioecesisibus, ut Mechlinensi, solent vetustiora templa, Eucharistiae adservandae, structam habere ad latus arae primariae Turriculam, plerumque aeneam. Id olim etiam usitatum in dioecesi Leodiensi: sed jam exolevit. Engelbertus des Bois, Namurcensis Episcopus, habitâ Synodo an. 1639. Tit. XI. Cap. I., jussit, ut “omnia Tabernacula Venerabilis Sacramenti illico reponantur in medio summi altaris.” This last change followed the instructions of Borromeo 1960–1962, 22. Extant examples stand in the St. Pieterskerk, Leuven, 1450, carved by Mathieu de Layen; St. Jacobskerk, Leuven, 1538, carved by Gabriel vanden Bruyne (see Maere 1946, 343–348; Kavalier 2000, 233); St. Leonarduskerk, Zoutleeuw, carved 1550–1552 in the workshop of Cornelis Floris; St. Katharinakerk, Zuurbemde, carved 1555–1557 in the workshop of Cornelis Floris (see Huysmans et al. 1996, 104–110, nos. S.20–21); St. Martenskerk, Aalst, carved 1604 by Hieronymus Duquesnoy the Elder (see Vlieghe 1998, 232–233).

24 See FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 1, extracts from 1550–1554, for Pauwels. See De Clercq 2002, for revealed mural paintings. See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, accounts of 1556–1557, f.8v.–9r., for pews and for the bronze columns with wooden frames for the fence.

25 RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account of 1556, f.2v.–f.3r.; f.34v., account of 1559–1560; f.46r.–46v., account of 1561–1562.

5.4 The Iconoclasm of 1566 and its Aftermath

The Calvinist iconoclasts destroyed all of this on August 20, 1566, and the days following. But after Catholic rule had been restored, the Blessed Sacrament guild immediately put its chapel back in working order. Within a year the chapel wardens purchased an inexpensive new panel of *The Last Supper* as temporary replacement for their altarpiece. They fixed the niche in which the ciborium rested, repaired bronze columns that had been smashed, and rebuilt the wainscoting that had been stripped away.²⁶ They also salvaged a silver pax made in 1555 to kiss at the end of mass, and perhaps the other sacred objects of precious metal owned by the chapel.²⁷ What the Calvinists systematically destroyed, the guild purposefully rebuilt. Both sides invested heavily in the symbolic value of the Eucharist and its chapel.

Catholics demonstrated increased fervor in the decade after iconoclasm. Income spiked between 1569 and 1573, driven higher by contributions for a new alabaster altar retable with a relief of *The Last Supper*, designed by Cornelis Floris, Antwerp's leading sculptor and architect.²⁸ The decision to replace the

26 RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account of 1566–1567, f.74r.–f.75r., for these expenses.

27 The pax is mentioned first in 1557, again in 1574, and then inventoried in 1673 (RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account of 1556–1557, f.10r.; account of 1573–1574, f.114v.; RAAKASJA B.13, inventory of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel dated June 26, 1673, 7, first item under silver work: Eenen silveren Peÿs wegende 33 once 3 1/2 engelse gemackt 1555).

28 RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account of 1568–1569, f.86r.: “Item hier wordt pro memorie ghestelt als dat wÿ cappelmeesters voerschreven bestee hebben aen Cornelis Floris een nieuwe tafel te maken inden choir vanden Eerweerdich Heÿlighen sacramente na patroon ende zekere contractt daer aff zÿnde voer welcke voerschreven tafele wÿ den voerschreven Cornelis Floris beloeft hebben te gheven zoo wanneer de zelve tafele ghemaect ende ghestelt zal wesen de some van drÿ hondert guldens eens op welcke voerschreven zome xxiiii guldens”; account of 1569–1570, f.90v.: “Item betaelt Nÿclaes Doens voer dat hÿ de voerschreven tafel ghewit hadde ende achter ende gront vuyten getrocken met tghene dat Jacques Floris Vrient hadde van tselve te teeken” 3 guilders; (Doens was a “stoffeerder” who specialized in adding polychrome to sculpture: see Rombouts and Van Lerius 1864–1876, I, 132): f.91r.: “Item betaelt aen bÿde ghesellen van Cornelis Floris ghedroncken ten tÿds als zÿ tselve werck gestelt hebben” 2 guilders 12 stivers; “Item betaelt Cornelis Floris boven de 24 gulden begrepen inde voer-gaende Rekening noch ten goeder Rekening . . . zÿn quÿtancien 199 guilders 17 stuivers”; account of 1571–1572, f.100v.: “Item ontfanghen van heer Danieel Martini tot behoefte vande abbasten Tafel te stofferen inde voerschreven Capelle compt 32 stuivers” (Martini may have belonged to the Antwerp family prominent during the third quarter of the 16th century in

image destroyed in 1566 with one far more magnificent provides evidence to question the prevailing assumption that important commissions for religious art vanished after the iconoclasm as a result of Catholic passivity.²⁹ At the very least, small groups of the faithful rallied around the unifying symbol of the Eucharist in St. Jacob's Sacrament Chapel.

By 1578 chapel income declined significantly in reaction to the increase of Protestant power. Nevertheless, the chapel maintained its Eucharistic masses and the Corpus Christi procession, despite official strictures against ostentatious display of the Eucharist.³⁰ Regular operation stopped in 1580, after the Calvinists occupied the nave of St. Jacob's for their own services.³¹ Finally, in July 1581 the Antwerp Magistracy prohibited celebration of the Catholic mass and effectively closed the Blessed Sacrament Chapel along with almost all other Catholic places of worship in the city.

5.5 Restoration after 1585

After four years of repression the chapel wardens picked up their accounts again on a triumphant note, starting "from the occupation of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma in obedience to his Majesty in the year 1585 at the end of the month of August."³² They immediately restored the chapel's visual splendor, repeating the quick reversal of the iconoclasm in 1566. Two major purchases

city government; see Prims 1927–1948, VI-A, 188–189; f.102r: "Item betaelt Cornelis Floris van des hem quam per reste van het werck by hem ghemaect inde voorschreven Capelle de soeme van 76 guilders 3 stuivers"; "Item betaelt voor seekere onkosten als men het abbasten avont mael ghestelt heeft inde voorschreven Capelle 27 1/2 stuivers"; account of 1572–1573, f.107r: "Item betaelt Nicolaes Doens vande voorschreven abbasten avontmael te vergulden" 12 guilders.

29 See for example Jan van Damme in Huysmans et al. 1996, 16.

30 After remaining at around 200 guilders per year, income declined in 1577–1578 to 74 guilders, not enough to cover the routine expenditures that totaled 138 guilders: see RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account of 1577–1578, f.130v–135r. See Prims 1927–1948, VI-A, 98–100, for accounts of Protestant opposition to Catholic processions, and also for the articles of the religious peace that William, Prince of Orange, proposed to regulate sectarian strife in Antwerp, including prohibitions against holding any religious services outside of churches and restrictions on carrying the Eucharist to the sick.

31 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1580–1581, f.141r., in which there is no indication of a procession and income has decreased to 66 guilders. See above, chapter 1, n.1, for the partition of the church.

32 RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1585–1586, f.142r.

accomplished this end. First, one of the chapel wardens, art dealer Cornelis van Dalem, sold the chapel a new altarpiece, “richly painted, gilded, and painted in polychrome inside and out”, to replace Cornelis Floris’s alabaster retable that the Calvinists presumably had destroyed in the “second iconoclasm” of 1581.³³ Second, another chapel warden, Adriaen Speilman, contributed most of the cost for “seven excellent, large, artfully painted canvasses of the history of the Most Worthy Blessed Sacrament taken from the Old and New Testaments.”³⁴ The chapel wardens of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel acted decisively and on their own initiative, unlike many of Antwerp’s military and craft guilds who slowly and reluctantly obeyed the Magistracy’s command to restore their altars in the Cathedral and elsewhere throughout the city.

Their particular callings enabled the chapel wardens to express personal commitment through direct action. Starting in 1577 prominent members of the city’s artistic community took up service in the chapel.³⁵ This shift, apparently temporary and accidental, in fact persisted into the 18th century. In 1585–1586 the four officers of the chapel included Hubrecht Waelrant, a renowned musician who long ago had sung tenor in St. Jacob’s choir; Cornelis van Dalem, the art dealer and painter’s son who acquired two successive altarpieces for the chapel, served as churchwarden of St. Jacob’s, then joined the clergy, and in 1619 became chaplain of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel; Philips de Craeyer, a master mason who had labored in the church since 1572, and in 1587 was hired to tear down the “Calvinist” wall that had partitioned the nave of St. Jacob’s.³⁶ In later years artists and craftsmen such as David Teniers the Younger, Theodoor van Thulden, Joannes Moermans, Huybrecht Sporckmans, and Michiel Xavery served as chapel wardens and actively shaped the history of the institution.

33 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1585–1586, f.144r.: price of 200 guilders.

34 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1585–1586, f.142r., for Speilman’s donation of 84 guilders; f. r., for record of the commission at cost of 114 guilders.

35 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1576–1577, f.129r., submitted by chapel wardens Peeter de Haze, Hubrecht Waelrant, and Philips de Craeyer. See below for the professions of the last three.

36 See Spiessens 1995, on Waelrant; Rombouts and Van Lerius 1864–1876, I, 323–324; RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1619–1620, f.269v., on Van Dalem; RAAKASJA 34/2, Kerkrekening 1571–1572; RAAKASJA R.56., Kladboek 1575–1577; RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1580–1581; Kerkrekening 1587–1588; Kerkrekening 1589–1590; Kerkrekening 1591–1592; Kerkrekening 1593–1594; 366 Kerkrekening 1597–1598, on De Craeyer.

Art dealer Cornelis van Dalem worked hard in 1590 to replace the altarpiece acquired in 1585 with a new, more splendid triptych. He promised to supply the extravagant sum of 1,300 guilders, on condition that the chapel would reimburse him with alms collected expressly for that purpose.³⁷ His confreres supported Van Dalem's bold move to increase the chapel's splendor, and the chaplain must have approved the iconography of the new retable.

This fifth generation altarpiece survives in the chapel, although the two side wings were removed from the center panel later, in 1665 (fig. 5.1; fig. 5.2; fig. 5.3). In its original state when open the center of the triptych displayed *The Last Supper*, fixing on the moment when Christ informs his disciples that one of them will betray him. John, the disciple Jesus loved, leans back on the savior's breast to ask who the traitor might be (John 13: 21–27; fig. 5.5. Detail of fig. 5.4. *The Last Supper*).

The left and right panels depict what Catholic theologians viewed as Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist.³⁸ On the left *Moses Addresses Aaron as The Jews Gather Manna in the Desert* (Exodus 16). On the right *The Priest-King Melchizedek Gives Bread and Wine to Abraham* (Genesis 14: 18–20). The tablets of the law in Moses' right hand may refer to God's instruction that a jar of Manna should be set before the Ten Commandments in the Ark of the Covenant to commemorate the miracle, even though the tablets had not yet been handed down when the manna first fell. It is possible that the painting repeats the Scripture's anachronism so as to support the Catholic practice of displaying the consecrated host on the altar. The priestly authority of both Melchizedek and Aaron is made evident in their garments and censers that call to mind a Catholic priest celebrating mass. Closed, the two wings joined to show a third Old Testament prefiguration of the Eucharist, *Elijah Fed by an Angel in the Wilderness* (1 Kings 19: 4–8). A *Crucifixion* painted on canvas that surmounted *The Last Supper* in the "upper work" is lost. In their original state, the pictures combined three Old Testament prefigurations together with Christ's institution of the Eucharist and the historical sacrifice of Christ's body on the cross, to represent straightforwardly the doctrine of the Eucharist

37 See RAAKASJA B.7, *Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620*, account for 1590–1591, f.157v.: "... is geacordeert ende beloift te betalen aen Cornelis van Dale onsen mede broeder voir de voirscreven tafele al vergult ende vol schildert zo wel voet deuren binnenste paneele van den avont mael onsheeren als Crucifix op doeck int opper werck boven gestoffeert al te stellen op zynen cost."

38 See De Poorter 1978, I, 191–195, on the choice of Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist.



FIGURE 5.1 *Triptych of the Sacrament Chapel retable: The Last Supper, center panel, still in place.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 5.2 *Triptych of the Sacrament Chapel retable: Gathering of Manna, left panel open, detached from the retable.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 5.3 *Triptych of the Sacrament Chapel retable: Abraham and Melchizedek, right panel open, detached from the retable.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

and the priestly authority on which rested the whole edifice of the Counter Reformation Catholic Church.

Van Dalem's act of devotion attracted wider support. The next year, 1591–1592, leading representatives of the Milanese and Portuguese financier-merchant “nations” resident in the parish accompanied the chapel wardens in a procession to encourage gifts for the new retable. The wealthy bankers made their own substantial contributions.³⁹ Giovanni Baptista Spinola, Genoese head of the most powerful banking firm in Antwerp and financier of the Spanish government, chose the Blessed Sacrament Chapel as his place to donate a token guilder when pardons were granted during 1586–1587 to those who had offended the Spanish crown and now visited churches.⁴⁰ The Sacrament Chapel thus became a potent medium through which suspect financiers could reconcile with Philip II to whose church they demonstrated renewed loyalty (see below, chapter 8, for Philip II's affiliation with St. Jacob's).

Restoration of the chapel gained momentum from the broader Catholic revival of Eucharistic devotion and frequent communion promoted by Rome, and in Antwerp by the new Counter Reformation bishop Laevinus Torrentius (1587–1595) along with the Jesuit leader Franciscus Costerus.⁴¹ Torrentius participated directly in the renewal of Antwerp Cathedral's Sacrament Chapel, and encouraged the chapel wardens there to award Otto van Veen the commission for their Last Supper altarpiece in 1592.⁴² Another Sacrament confraternity, active in the parish church of St. Joris, acquired a Last Supper altarpiece by Ambrosius Francken the Elder at around the same time.⁴³ But among these three lively centers for Eucharistic devotion, the impetus was strongest in St. Jacob's.

Enthusiasm sprang from the chapel wardens rooted in the artistic community who purchased the new altarpiece, from the opportunity they gave to the financiers for a show of loyalty, and from their inclusion of poor devout women as well. It is an early example of grass roots support for the Counter

39 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1590–1591, f.159v.: “Item int omegaen met Diego Hernandez demiranda. Cristoffel Cerezo Niclaes Rodrigues ende Jan Zanol metten meesters ontfanghen tot asistentie van den nieuwen outtaer” 458 guilders 5 stivers. De Miranada and Zanol contributed separately along with other donors. For this group of supporters see above, chapter 2, n.31.

40 See FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 8. On Spinola, see Baetens 1976, I, 215.

41 Marinus 1995, 277–279.

42 Grieten and Bungeneers 1996, 384–386, n.931.

43 Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten—Antwerpen 1988, 142–143, nos. 136–140.

Reformation by lay people in St Jacob's Parish, without any pressure from the bishop, the Magistracy, or the Jesuits.

5.6 Enclosure 1595–1806

Between 1595 and 1599 new decorative elements unified the chapel in a distinctive architectural configuration that would hold for several generations, until the expansion of 1665. A monumental enclosure fence separating the chapel from the transept proved the defining feature. Even though torn down in 1806, several painted views in tandem with archival records give a clear idea of its imposing character. The enclosure was built in three sections, each fencing off one of the archways opening from the transept into the chapel. Merchants from the same elite network who donated costs for the altarpiece paid as well for the enclosure. An Italian, a Spaniard, and a Portuguese, representing together the major “nations” living in the parish, each contributed one of the parts.⁴⁴ Their support for the Sacrament Chapel anticipated the similar representative gifts they made to the church's new choir in 1602 (see above, chapter 2).

I already have reported the decision-making process by which the best design for the enclosure was chosen (see above, chapter 2). Joiner and wood sculptor Peeter Butkens, who won the commission, worked from a detailed wooden model to execute the fence in three horizontal levels.⁴⁵ Willem von

44 See FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 10–11; RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account for 1596–1597, 176v., for pledges by Diego Hernandez de Miranda, Jan Angel Vergani, and Nicolas Rodrigues D'Evora each to pay for a fence to enclose one of the three arches, Vergani's in the middle arch to be made “very preciously of good joinery by Mr Peeter Butkens joiner and decorated with very beautiful carved images being figures of the four doctors of the holy church above with a beautiful crown and metal candelabra all very finely and preciously made with benches and foot stools” [“seer costelyck van goet scrynwerck by Mr Peeter Butkens scrynwercker gemaect ende verciert met seer schoenen gesneden beelden wesende de figuren vanden vier doctoren der heyligen kercken boven met een schoon croonement ende metalen candelaren al seer wel ende costelycken gemaect met bancken ende voete banckene”; f.177v., 4 guilders paid to Jan Snellinck for the models [“patronen”] of the four evangelists; account for 1598–1599, f.188r.: “noch betaelt aende capelle te scilderen met loofwerck en vergulde ciborien ende ander oncosten samen” 67 guilders 12 stuivers; f.188v.: to Peeter Butkens joiner “voirt maken ende solderen van de twee biechtstoelen metten bancken ter zyden 84 guilders”; account of 1607–1608, 98 guilders to Peeter Butkens for the altar enclosure.

45 See FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 10, for the meeting in 1595–1596, that deliberated

Ehrenberg's 1663 perspective of St. Jacob's gives the best view of it, with the 1590 altar retable behind (fig. 5.4). The whole ensemble conformed to the "antique" style that dominated St. Jacob's ornament around 1600 (see above, chapter 2). A carved wooden base supported a high balustrade capped by an entablature of architrave, frieze, and overhanging cornice, crowned above with a flourish of jigsawed pediments and metal candlesticks. The balustrades in each section of the enclosure were ornamented at regular intervals "with very beautiful carved images" depicting the Four Doctors of the Church and the Four Evangelists, the latter after designs by painter Jan Snellinx (see the St. Job Chapel altarpiece, chapter 8). These eight figures personified the scriptural texts and theology on which rested the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.

The Sacrament Chapel enclosure signified exclusivity in several ways. It functioned as a massive screen that cut the chapel off from the rest of the church. It protected the consecrated host from sacrilege by keeping out those who might profane the most sacred object of Catholic faith. But the high base of the enclosure also made it difficult for the faithful standing outside to see the Eucharist displayed within.

Paid for by wealthy merchants, the enclosure indicated social exclusivity as well. This select inner circle expanded during the early 1620s when subscribers agreed to pay for one or more of the enclosure's thirty-six new brass columns that would replace the old wooden balusters, enhancing magnificence with costlier materials. A substantial price of around forty guilders bought the thirty donors their names engraved in the metal, and admittance to a club so exclusive that for most, their honorific titles alone sufficed to identify them; My Lord Burgomaster Vande Werve, Sr. Cornelis Lantschot, Sr. Franco Lopez Franco, Sr. Hendrick de Cleckr, Jouffr. Susanna Scholiers, all belonging to Antwerp's noblest or richest families. The only exception was "Rubens the painter," identified by profession, exactly at the time when he began to engineer his rise into the landed aristocracy.⁴⁶ Rubens bought social distinction with his donation. He took the first step along a path that ended in building a whole burial chapel for himself and his family to signal the exalted status he sought. All thirty donors asserted their membership in the network of political, social, and economic power that ruled Antwerp.

on which plan ("patroon") would be "nutste heereykste ende bequaemste tot daffsluyten van den choor van den hoochweerdigen heyligen Sacramente."

46 RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1621–1622, f.2r.; account of 1622–1623, f.7r., income for new brass columns.



FIGURE 5.4

Detail of fig. 3.1, with a view of the 1599 enclosure and the 1590 retable of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.

St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament Chapel enclosure imprinted an exclusive character that acquired a conservative edge later in the century. Other churches in Antwerp dismantled their high fences for both religious and artistic motives (see above chapter 3, on this question related to St. Jacob's roodscreen). But, after a plan for change was aborted in 1721 (see above, chapter 3), St. Jacob's waited until 1806 to remove its fence, after the Sacrament Chapel had lost the administrative independence that protected its integrity up to the French Revolution. Later in the 19th century conservative Catholic Theodoor van Lierus complained bitterly that not even Rubens's name could save the columns from destruction at the hands of those who sought to display the Eucharist more openly.⁴⁷

5.7 Unifying the Space, Interjecting the Counter Reformation

After completing the ornate new enclosure in 1599, the chapel wardens refined and unified their exclusive space. Grape vines painted on the pillars in dense foliage, suggested a vineyard of fruit bursting with the Eucharistic blood (fig. 5.5). This polychrome continued a 16th-century practice of wall painting recently discovered throughout St. Jacob's chapels, hidden now under

47 See RAAKASJA (old number 560), 210–211.



FIGURE 5.5 *Sacrament Chapel pier with 1599 painting of grape vines partially uncovered.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

later coats of whitewash.⁴⁸ The bare walls of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel were paneled in wainscoting that incorporated, as I have shown, the first confessionals built in Antwerp according to the innovative design of St. Carlo Borromeo (1599, see above chapter 4). A Roman Missal, bought from publisher Jan Moretus in 1606, introduced the new official liturgy of the Catholic Church into chapel masses.⁴⁹

5.8 The Cachiopin Window: Hapsburgs, Eucharist, and the Church

Three Spanish merchants founded the Blessed Sacrament Chapel. Another paid for one section of the new enclosure. But the most lasting and influential declaration of the unifying force that tied together Antwerp's Spanish "nation," the Catholic Church, the Eucharist, and the ruling Hapsburg dynasty was made in the great stained glass window donated to the chapel in 1626 by Juan de Cachiopin and his wife Magdalena de Lange (fig. 5.6). The inventive clarity of the narrative, the dynamic composition of figures, skill in perspective, and distribution of color, all demonstrate the hand of an accomplished history painter, perhaps Hendrik van Balen, to whom design of the window was attributed early in the 18th century.⁵⁰

Cachiopin and De Lange occupy the bottom third of the window, kneeling on red cushions to adore the crucifix (fig. 5.7). A multiplicity of signs determines the couple's identities. Their escutcheon is embroidered on a cloth below the crucifix and separate coats of arms under each spouse make the claim to nobility on both sides. These merchant families in fact counted patronage of religious art as one necessary means by which they could enter the aristocracy.⁵¹ Their names are inscribed beneath the coats of arms. The portraits signal their devout characters.

The story that fills the window above them proclaimed the inextricable union in history between the Catholic Church and the Hapsburg dynasty

48 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, account of 1598–1599, f.188r: "noch betaelt aende capelle te scilderen met loofwerck en vergulde ciborien ende ander oncosten samen 67 guilders 12 stuivers." For these mural paintings see De Clercq 2002.

49 See RAAKASJA B.7, *Venerabelkapel, Rekeningboek 1556–1620*, account of 1606–1607: f.226v.

50 See Arnout Balis in Vanden Bemden 1994, 182, who keeps open Jacob de Wit's early 18th-century attribution of the design to Hendrik van Balen and rejects the later attributions to Martin Pepyn and Jan de Labaer. Werche 2004, I, 41, mistakenly assumes that the window no longer exists.

51 Timmermans 2006.



FIGURE 5.6

*Window donated to the Sacrament
Chapel in 1626 by Juan de Cachiopin and
Magdalena de Lange.*

KIK Z003705



FIGURE 5.7 Detail of fig. 5.6; portraits of the donors.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

joined in veneration of the Eucharist. The central inscription below the crucifix, written in “Gothic” letters, names the protagonist of the story that unfolds above in the vast landscape: “Rudolf, Count of Hapsburg, son of Albert the Wise and born the first of May in the year 1218, while hunting was blessed and became the first emperor of Austria from that house” (fig. 5.8).⁵² At the bottom of the landscape, Count Rudolf in red genuflects at the sight of the consecrated host carried by an impoverished priest to whom the Count humbly offers his horse. His squire and kinsman Regulus von Kyborg kneels and offers his horse to the priest’s acolyte (fig. 5.9). Winding upwards on the right, Rudolf leads the priest on horseback to the house of a sick man who awaits the viaticum, the Eucharist carried to the sick and dying (fig. 5.10). In the center middle ground a female hermit prophesies that Rudolf will be crowned emperor as reward for his veneration of the Eucharist. At the top of the window a glory of angels exalts the host radiant in its monstrance.

52 RAAKASJA 2642, “Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae,” 7, “Rudolph, alberti sapientis filii, Habsburgi Comes et nat, ao 1218. ipsius cal. Maii venati benedicitr ac fit 1,é domo austrca Imperator.”



FIGURE 5.8 Detail of fig. 5.6; inscription commemorating Rudolf of Hapsburg's piety.



FIGURE 5.9 Detail of fig. 5.6; Count Rudolf of Hapsburg and Regulus von Kyborg.



FIGURE 5.10 Detail of fig. 5.6; procession on the right.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

By 1626, when the window was installed, the legend of Rudolf of Hapsburg had gained currency as an example of political advantage won through religious virtue. It also was associated closely with the Hapsburg rulers of the South Netherlands, the Archduke Albert of Austria who had died in 1621 and the Archduchess Isabella. Her father, Philip II of Spain, was fond of telling the story.⁵³ Justus Lipsius, the great antiquarian and political philosopher, included Rudolf's veneration of the Eucharist in his highly influential *Political Admonitions and Examples* (1605), dedicated to the same Archduke Albert.⁵⁴ Subsequently Rubens and Frans Francken the Younger produced important works that confirmed the association between Eucharist and Hapsburg devotion.⁵⁵ St. Jacob's Cachiopin window thus stood at the beginning of an illustrious artistic tradition, and it was valued highly enough to disassemble and

53 See Duerloo 1998, 267, on the significance of the Rudolf legend for the Archdukes.

54 McGrath 1997, II, 313–314.

55 For Rubens see McGrath 1997, II, 313–314; see Härting 1999, 10–29, for Francken.

then piece back together in its new location when the chapel was expanded in 1665.⁵⁶

5.9 Joannes Moermans and Expansion of the Chapel 1664–1665

Joannes Moermans, silversmith, took on the job of chapel warden in 1657. In that capacity he guided the chapel until he died, forty-six years later, in 1703.⁵⁷ More than any other individual in St. Jacob's long history, Moermans established a legacy in the church through his strong personal devotion. Into the dry accounts that he kept for the chapel, Moermans interjected exclamations of hope, thanksgiving, gratitude, and resentment; "God be praised that it happened," he says of the whole expansion and decoration of the chapel that he inspired and supervised between 1664 and 1668; "for the new altar that I still hope to build" he notes in 1665 next to the record of a contribution; "may God reward her soul in eternity" he exclaims in gratitude for a generous gift; "unreasonable and scandalous," he condemns a contract harmful to the chapel that he threw into the fire, accusing the parish priest who signed it of deceptive self-interest.⁵⁸ When Moermans started a "Memory Book" of the chapel's property in 1673, he pasted in as frontispiece a print of the chapel's trademark monstrance designed by Johannes Meyssens and engraved by Cornelis Galle II (see below for the monstrance; fig. 5.11).⁵⁹ In the marriage chapel inside the Sacrament Chapel where Moermans and his family are buried, a portrait and two inscriptions still commemorate his devotion to the Eucharist, in works that I will discuss further on.

Considering Moermans' deep personal involvement, it is hard not to see the two masterpieces he wrought for the chapel—a "small monstrance" and a ciborium or communion cup chalice of gilded silver—as visual prayers to the

56 RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans, f.13r.

57 On Moermans see Dilis 1915.

58 RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans, f.13r., "Godt zy geloofit dit is gescheet;" RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, f.147r., account of 1664–1665: from MenHeer Van Eyck "voor den toe commende nieuwe autae die ick noch hope te maken," 14 guilders and 8 stivers; f.152r., account of 1666–1667, "Godt wilt haer ziele eeuwich loonen;" f.241r., in Moerman's hand, "1698 Memori dat ick hebbe hoeren. . ."

59 RAAKASJA B.13, Memorie Boeck van de cappel van het heyligh Sacrament, frontispiece, engraving pasted in of monstrance framed by angels: Meyssens inv./ C. Galle fe./ Gaspar de Hollander excud. Antwerp. Cum priuilegio; probably Johannes Meyssens and Cornelis Galle II.



FIGURE 5.11 Cornelis Galle. Blessed Sacrament Chapel monstrance, engraving pasted as frontispiece of the Sacrament Chapel Memory Book; inscribed: "Meysens inv./ C. Galle fe./ Gaspar de Hollander excud. Antwerp. Cum priuilegio." Probably the designer was Johannes Meysens and the engraver Cornelis Galle II. RAAKASJA. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Eucharist (fig. 5.12; fig. 5.13). J.B. Pallavicini, a Genoese banker still resident in Antwerp after most had left, bequeathed 1,000 guilders to pay for both sacred objects in 1665.⁶⁰ Through a tangled negotiation mediated by the bishop, Moermans protected this legacy from confiscation by St. Jacob's churchwardens who saw it as a means to escape from the financial crisis in which the church was enmeshed at this time (see above, chapter 3).⁶¹ Once again, the Sacrament Chapel flourished while the parish church struggled.

Moermans' work took its place in a succession of monstrances used by the chapel. Monstrances lend magnificent presence to the humble consecrated host. They center the focus of veneration that tips into motion the whole machinery of aggrandizement.⁶² After its sacrament tower had been destroyed in the iconoclasm of 1566, the Blessed Sacrament Chapel acquired a series of gradually more splendid monstrances: one of painted wood in 1572–1573, a copper monstrance for daily use in 1600–1601, one of silver after that, and then during the late 1630s, a large, expensive, gilt silver monstrance manufactured by silversmith Abraham Valckx after a sculptor's design. Now lost, it served as the chapel's trademark for over a century.⁶³ Several engravings reproduced this

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- 60 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, account of 1664–1665, f.145v., memorandum “dat myn heer Pallawsin italiaen was by syn testament gemakt heeft dusent gulden om te maken een remonstrantie of communie cop gelyck geschiet is tot contenten”; account of 1665–1666, f.149r., 1,000 guilders from the estate of Pallavicini; f.149v., 1,000 guilders spent on the monstrance and large ciborium; RAAKASJA B.13, *Memorie Boeck van de cappel van het heyligh Sacrament inventory compiled June 26, 1673 by Moermans*: “I Een cleyne Remonstrancie van silver de somme daer van is . . . verreert van menhr Palvisino en is gemaect 1665 weght 113 oncen 14 engl. Is nu geheel vergult door menheer Hilewerve/ I Eenen comuncieer cop van silver wegende 138 oncen: 8 engels comp ock by testament van deheer Palvesino ghemaect 1665 is nu oock vergult;” Baetens 1976, I, 222, on Pallavicini.
- 61 RAAKASJA B.11, *Blessed Sacrament Chapel, Rekeningboek 1760–1761/1780–1781*, f.156r., account of conflict in 1666 between churchwardens of St. Jacob's and chapel wardens of the Sacrament Chapel over the legacy of J.B. Pallavicini.
- 62 See Braun 1973, 348–411, on monstrances.
- 63 RAAKASJA B.7, *Blessed Sacrament Chapel, Rekeningboek 1556–1620*, account of 1573–1574, f.114v.; account of 1600–1601, f.198r.; RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, account of 1636–1637, f.48r.–f.48v., contributions for the monstrance raised through a March 14 collection and individual donations; f.50r.: “Item betaelt op de handen aen Sr. Valckx om den Monstrancie te maeken 150”; “Item betaelt voor het maeken vande model vande monstrancie [in margin in same hand: den belt snijder]: 25–10”; “Item betaelt aenden ebben wercker voor het maeken vande leyst vanden model 10”; account of 1638–1639, f.58r., small silver pax and old silver monstrance melted down for the new one; f.59v., contract signed with Valckx,



FIGURE 5.12 *Joannes Moermans. Monstrance for the Sacrament Chapel, 1665.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 5.13 *Joannes Moermans. Ciborium or communion cup chalice for the Sacrament Chapel, 1665.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

monstrance to advertise and disseminate the chapel's devotion. Pieter Thys in his group portrait of the chapel wardens painted for the marriage chapel (see below) depicted Moermans with the others kneeling to venerate the host displayed in the same monstrance (see above, fig. 5.11; also, fig. 5.14;⁶⁴ fig. 5.15).

Although Valckx's monstrance stood as the chapel's representative sign, the chapel wardens replaced it in 1733 with a new piece said to have come from Barcelona (fig. 5.16).⁶⁵ They claimed that the old monstrance was simply too heavy to carry in processions, and in fact a special silver ring had been attached earlier so that the pastor could lift it. But the representative function of the monstrance also may have persuaded the chapel wardens to find a more up-to-date and fashionable work that they could display. In the splendid Barcelona monstrance an angel standing on a celestial sphere shows the consecrated host inside a sunburst of radiant light and diamonds.

Moermans' "small monstrance" was not conspicuous enough to substitute in processions for Valckx's massive work. But it did introduce the new type of sunburst monstrance into the Sacrament Chapel. Valckx composed the rectangular body of his cylinder monstrance out of distinct vertical and horizontal elements that give way at the sides to an ornamental play of grapevines. Moermans captured a new spirit, intentionally patterned, perhaps at Pallavicini's request, on a monstrance donated in 1642 to the Antwerp Carmelite Church by Hendrick de Clerck who also was a major supporter of St. Jacob's and of the Sacrament Chapel.⁶⁶ In Moermans' design ornament and body fuse into a liquid motion of organic, rhythmic curves, culminating in the sunburst around the crystal window at the center. The surface of gilded silver dissolves in lustrous reflection, hundreds of tiny pearls coalesce into ears of

payments to Valckx; account of 1639–1640, f.63r., payments to Valckx. See also the 1683 inventory of the chapel compiled by Joannes Moermans, RAAKASJA B.13, "Memorie Boeck van de cappel van het heylich Sacrament", under silverwork: "I groote Remonstrancie vergult wegende in silver 305 oncen gemackt Ao 1633", describing as well pendant jewels contributed by various donors.

64 RAAKASJA B.9, Sacrament Chapel Rekeningboek: 1689–1690–1726–1727, Rekening 1703–1704, f.70v., payment to Vanden Sande of 9 guilders and 16 stuivers for a new copper plate and for 300 impressions. St. Jacobs still owns the copper plate: see KIK Mo50046.

65 RAAKASJA R.14, Kerkrekening 1733, f.6r. and f.20r., under extraordinary income and expenditures, sale of old and purchase of new monstrance.

66 RAAKASJA B.11, Rekeningboek 1760–1761/1780–1781, account of 1773–1774, f.156v., records that Moermans fashioned the monstrance "conform aen de goude actuelyck berustende in de kercke der Eerwd pp. onse Lieve vrouw broders alhier"; FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 20.

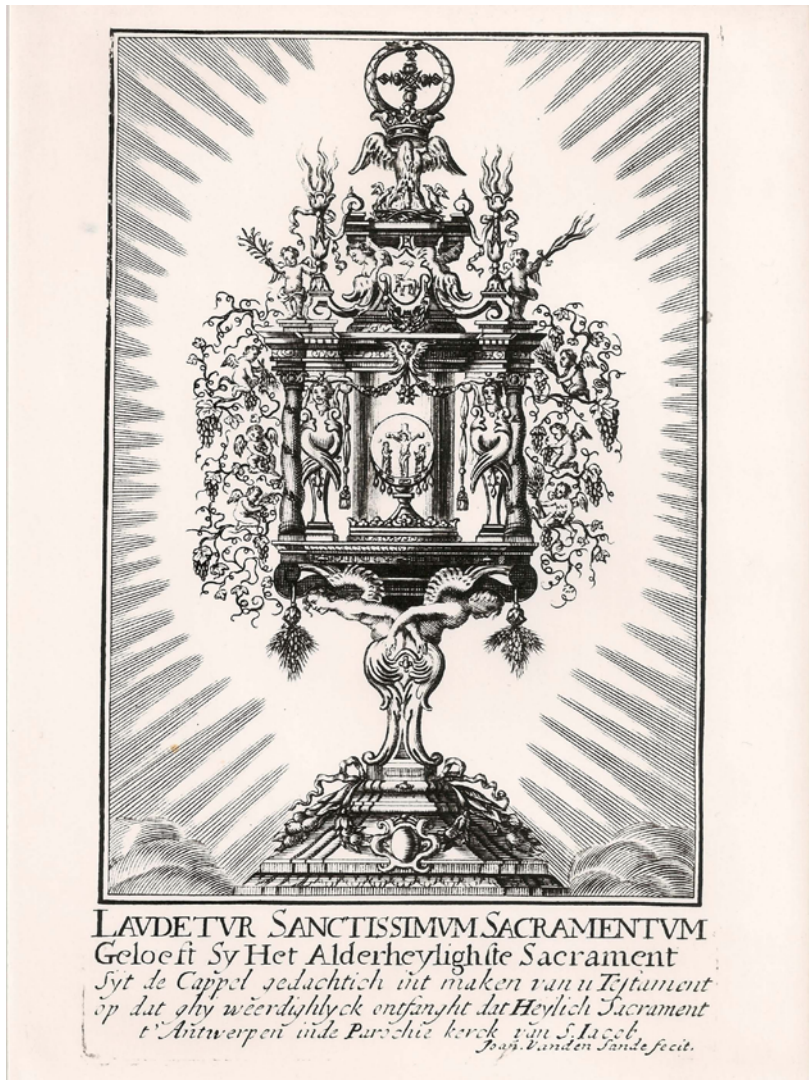


FIGURE 5.14 Joannes vanden Sande. Blessed Sacrament Chapel monstrance, engraving, 1703–1704.
 FAA.



FIGURE 5.15 *Detail of fig. 5.37, Blessed Sacrament Chapel monstrance.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

wheat, diamonds into roses. Moermans' tour de force of metamorphosis suggests the miracle of the Eucharist itself.

In the chalice-shaped ciborium Moermans fashioned the monstrance's counterpart. A similar organic profile swells and tapers upwards, from the lobed base, through the floral stem, to an ornate cup crowned with a flourish ending in the crucifix. Like the winged angels who lift the bank of clouds above the sunburst in the monstrance, the frieze of angels who harvest grapes on the cup embraces a religious fervor that matches the silversmith's other professions of faith (fig. 5.17). In the cherubic angels Moermans imitated the famous putti conceived by the Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy, but transformed the Bacchic frenzy of Duquesnoy's pagan children into Christian ecstasy.

Moermans' two works for the Sacrament Chapel provided a widely imitated model for Flemish and Dutch ecclesiastical silver, as strong and long lasting as the influence exerted by any of the masterly paintings and sculptures in the church.⁶⁷ The silversmith poured his own devotion into these sacred vessels that celebrated completion of Moermans' most important contribution to the

67 See for example, Van Eck 2008, 29.



FIGURE 5.16 *Sacrament Chapel monstrance from Barcelona acquired in 1733.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 5.17 *Detail of fig. 5.13, vintner angels.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Blessed Sacrament Chapel, his supervision of the expansion carried out during 1664–1665.

5.10 Expansion of the Chapel 1664–1665

In June 1664, claiming the need for more space to accommodate crowds of parishioners who took communion there, the Blessed Sacrament Chapel won permission from the city to expand. The chapel would cede passage through its northernmost bay, completing the circuit of St. Jacob's new ambulatory around the choir. Although they granted free passage, the chapel wardens retained their "feudal" rights to the property, especially to the valuable empty crypts below that would generate income from wealthy families eager to secure one of the increasingly scarce burial sites inside the church. In return the chapel could annex the space vacated, after delicate negotiations, by demolishing the Carillo Chapel to its east and would build a fourth bay on the open ground of the southeast corner, making the plan "foursquare," as the accounts put it, thus symmetrical with its counterpart Our Lady Chapel on the north side of the

church (see fig. 1.6 for this new configuration of 1664; see below chapter 8 for the Carillo Chapel). The whole project took just one year to complete, and it was paid in full by 1668 (fig. 5.18). Ribbed vaults, the foundation and steps of a new altar, a black and white pavement, the ornate door to the future marriage chapel carved by Artus Quellinus the Elder or Younger, and new ornaments for the interior cost 7,000 guilders in total. Elite donors gave their share along with the broader “good community” who contributed to a parish-wide collection.⁶⁸

5.11 A Perspective View of the New Chapel Design

Willem von Ehrenberg’s 1663 perspective of St. Jacob’s nave visualized a new concept of ornamentation that the churchwardens would implement over the next decade and beyond to transform the parish space of the church with magnificent beauty (see above, chapter 3 and fig. 3.1). In 1666 Von Ehrenberg depicted the newly expanded Sacrament Chapel for the same purpose; to show prospective donors what their continued generosity would bring. Although this picture is known only through an old black and white photograph, a meticulous copy painted by J.L. van Gemert in the 18th century, still owned by St. Jacobs, conveys the same information in color and detail, worthwhile to reproduce side by side with Von Ehrenberg’s original (fig. 5.19; fig. 5.20). Von Ehrenberg’s picture uses perspective to celebrate the chapel’s new spaciousness and luminosity. It features the balustrade separating the chapel from the ambulatory, the Cachiopin window that had been painstakingly transferred to its new location, and also Artus Quellinus the Elder or Younger’s ornate door to the marriage chapel, a testimony to optimism, since the door already was built, but led to nowhere, until the marriage chapel itself was completed in 1676. As for the imposing altar retable and communion rail that Von Ehrenberg presented, they are pale shadows of the masterpieces that would be commissioned and installed much later, in the 1680s and 1690s.⁶⁹ Nevertheless the picture does capture the new vision of the chapel that Moermans and his colleagues gradually implemented.⁷⁰

68 RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans, f.13r.; RAAKASJA 1014, for the 1664 contract between the chapel wardens and masons Philips de Swert and Peeter Swinnens that specified work to be completed, materials, and quality; RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, 1664–1665, f.146v., income from collection and donors.

69 For this picture and the copy by Van Gemert, see Baisier 2008, I, 122–134.

70 Note that the wainscoting at the back right of Von Ehrenberg’s picture never was built.



FIGURE 5.18 *View of the whole Sacrament Chapel as it was expanded 1664–1665.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

5.12 Altar Retable

After the marriage chapel was built in 1676 (see below) Moermans turned to constructing the new altar retable that would prove a major achievement in the history of Flemish sculpture and ornamental architecture. The first stone was laid at a festive ceremony on June 2, 1677, thirteen years after the project's conception in 1664.⁷¹ The site and dimensions of the altar, occupying the whole east wall of the bay adjacent to the ambulatory, established symmetry with the altar erected in 1664 for the Our Lady Chapel (see below, chapter 6 and fig. 6.2). Sculptors Peeter Verbruggen the Elder and Ludovicus Willemssens

71 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, 1682–1683, f.190v.*: *Memorie dat den eersten steen is voor den nieuwen outaer geleyt den 2 Juni 1677 door de handen vanden seer Eerwerdighe heer Menheer Hermanus vander Poorter Abt van de Abdy van sint michiel van den nieuwen marberen outaer die wy aen bestedt hebben aen monsieur Peeter Verbruggen & monsieur Lowys Willemssens voor de somme in t lanck & breet by de conditien geschreven by den notaris Lodewyckx op den 9 Juli 1676; f.191v.–f.192v., for documented expenditures.*

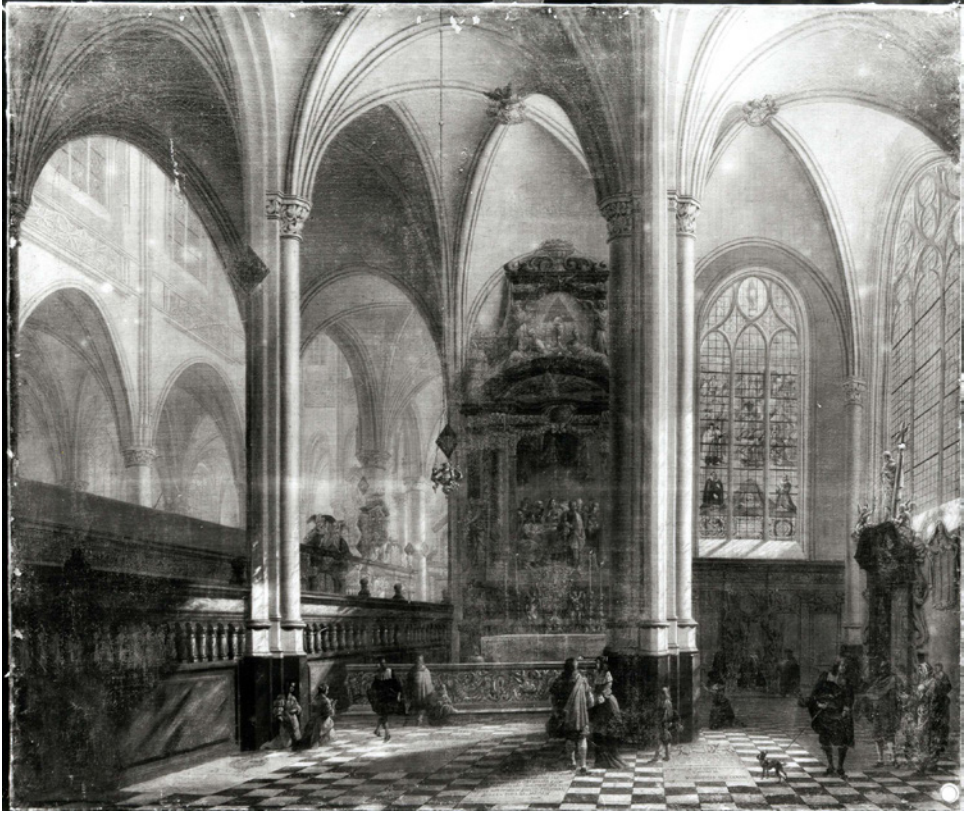


FIGURE 5.19 Willem von Ehrenberg. *The Blessed Sacrament Chapel*. 1666.

contracted to finish the work in three successive stages (fig. 5.21). They agreed first to build the altar table in black marble up to the base of the columns, including white marble reliefs of angels assisting at the mass and a sanctuary for the Eucharist closed by gilt wooden doors. Next would come the main body of the retable that incorporated *The Last Supper* extracted from the triptych acquired by Cornelis van Dalem in 1590. White marble Solomonic columns, ornamented with winding grape vines and sheaves of wheat, framed the picture. Corinthian pilasters reinforced the outlines of the two side niches equipped for statues. The entablature in alternating bands of black and white marble was crowned in turn by the black marble pedimental gable. The upward thrust continued gently on either side in a black marble torch that burns with the ornamental flourish of a gilt metal flame. Three white marble sculptures came last, to fill the empty side and gable niches: St. Peter and two angels on the left, by Peeter Verbrugghen the Younger; St. Paul and two angels on the



FIGURE 5.20 *J.L. van Gemert (after Willem von Ehrenberg. The Blessed Sacrament Chapel.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

right carved by Ludovicus Willemssens (fig. 5.22). Finally, in 1695 Willemssens completed the work with his God the Father for the gable on top.⁷²

72 RAAKASJA 1019, July 6, 1676 contract with Peeter Verbrugghen the Elder and Ludovicus Willemssens for new altar at the price of 7,600 guilders, for three upper sculptures, including God the Father in the middle at 2,240 guilders, and for the two or four lower statues for 750 guilders a figure; RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, 1682–1683, f.216r., payment for temporary decorations indicating that the retable was finished; 1683–1684, f.220v., 502 guilders to Verbrugghen and Willemssens for the “gemaecten mermeren Outaer”



FIGURE 5.21 *Sacrament Chapel retable.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 5.22 *Detail of fig. 5.21; Peeter Verbruggen the Younger, St. Peter and the Cock with Two Angels holding the Papal Tiara; Solomonic column with grape vines and sheaves of wheat.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

The differences that separate the retable depicted in Von Ehrenberg's painting of 1666, from the solution reached in an early project drawing, and from the finished retable indicate the search for a more magnificent and innovative work (fig. 5.23).⁷³ Between the two alternatives offered by the drawing, the chapel wardens decided on the more ornate order of spiraling columns at the left. The number of reliefs at the base of the columns increased and the compositions grew more intricate in terracotta models and then in the actual marbles. Verbrugghen the Elder and Willemssens carved angelic children who serve as acolytes. They hold vine-wreathed candles, swing a censer, press grapes into a chalice, and lift sacred books, assisting at the Eucharistic mass, just as the Catholic Church believed it truly happened, that angels hovered in attendance whenever Christ was sacrificed on the altar (fig. 5.24).⁷⁴ Above, white marble angels ornament the outer contours of the gable that remain unadorned in the drawing. A pelican, drawing blood from his own breast to feed his young, surmounts the work in both the drawing and the retable as it stands today.

Through their innovations, Verbrugghen the Elder and Willemssens significantly changed the architecture of Flemish altars. They moved away from the rectilinear division of parts that defines representative works of the 1660s, for example the rival altar of St. Jacob's Our Lady Chapel (fig. 6.2). Instead, the designers integrated new, fluid elements into the ground plan and elevation, especially the rhythmic alternation of convex and concave surfaces that depended on knowledge of recent innovations made in Italy. These changes were carried further in Peeter Verbrugghen the Elder and Artus Quellinus the Younger's 1678 design for the altar of the Guild of Our Lady in Antwerp

(finished marble altar); RAAKASJA 1023, Aug. 3, 1688 contract with Peeter Verbrugghen the Younger and Ludovicus Willemssens for statues of St. Peter and St. Paul at the price of 2,100 guilders; RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans, f.24v–25r: contract with Willemssens for God the Father for 750 guilders, Sept. 20, 1695, with Moermans' note that the cost was paid Dec. 28, 1697, "Godt lof. Alles is al betaelt sonder intrest."

73 RAAKASJA 1177, 1676, note by Van Grimbergen, *Geteekend ontwerp voor eenen Autaer voor Venerabel Kapel. Zonder naam. N.B. Den bestaenden is in dit jaer 1676 aengenommen door petrus Verbruggen, den ouden, en Ludovicus Willemssens. Base: 38 cm., height: 70.2 cm: no inscriptions or signatures: design in pen and brown ink, indication of shadows and stone in grey wash, ground in red chalk, scale measurements on right offer two designs.*

74 See Becker 1990, 116–117, who inserts these reliefs into a series of Flemish reliefs depicting angelic children who symbolize aspects of the Eucharist. Molanus 1781, 351, explains the aptness of ornamenting altars with statues of angels by citing passages from St. Ambrose and other saints in which it is maintained that angels literally assist at the mass.

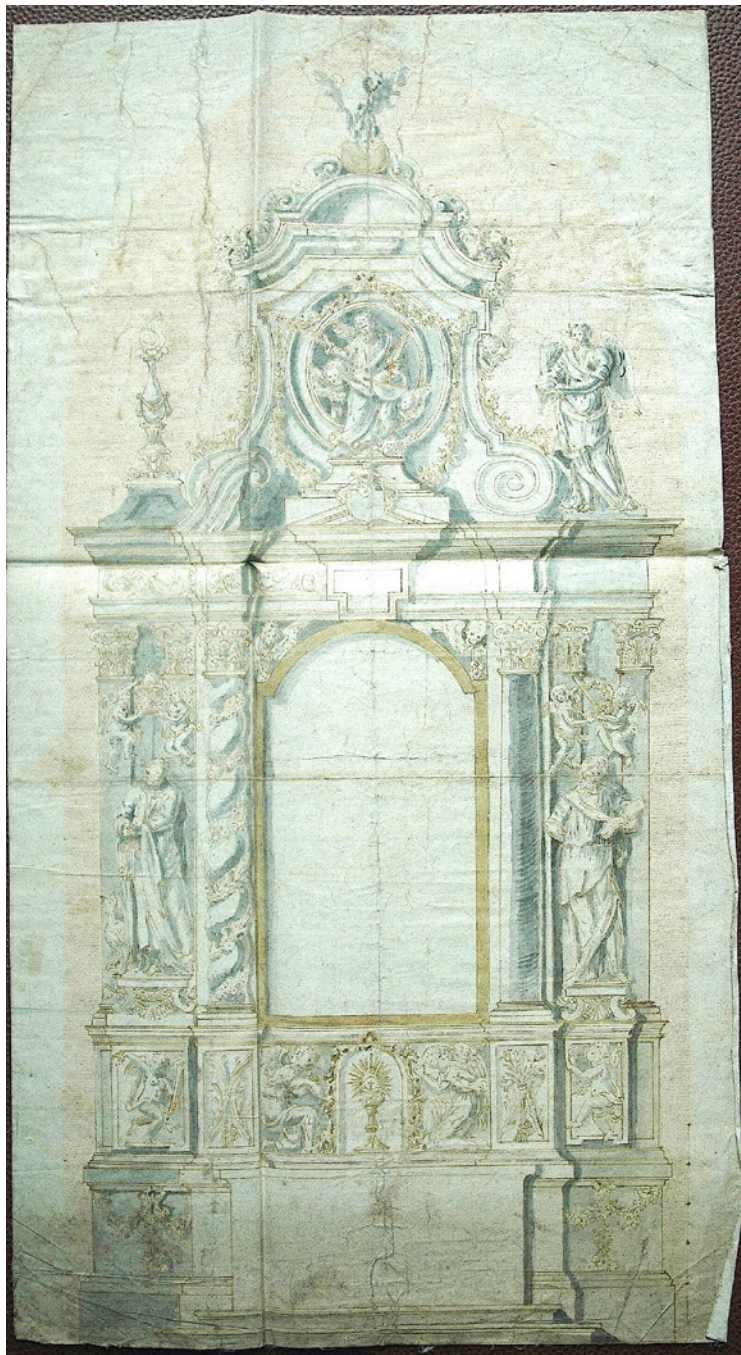


FIGURE 5.23 *Project drawing for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel altar retable.*
RAAKASJA.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 5.24 *Detail of fig. 5.21, relief of Angel acolyte with sanctus bell and torch at the base of the retable.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

Cathedral and then attained fullest expression in Artus Quellinus the Younger's 1685 high altar retable for St. Jacob's (see above, chapter 3, and fig. 3.30).⁷⁵

5.13 Communion Rail

Along with the new altar, expansion plans from the start included a marble communion rail (fig. 5.25).⁷⁶ Von Ehrenberg's 1666 perspective may show an early concept, but the one actually built is far more elaborate and unconventional.⁷⁷ It added the finishing touch to the chapel's decoration. Although chapel warden Joannes Moermans drew at least one design in 1693, construction began only after the altar retable was completed in 1695.⁷⁸ An unusually detailed contract set precise guidelines for the sculptors Guiliam Kerricx and Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen.⁷⁹

As instructed, Kerricx and Verbrugghen used the kind of precious white marble and reproduced the proportions that distinguished the communion rails in the Jesuit churches at Antwerp and Bruges.⁸⁰ Moermans and the other chapel wardens recognized the Jesuits as innovators who had elevated the communion rail to a major position in church decoration of the Spanish Netherlands. No accident, this change was the outcome of the Jesuits' concerted effort to restore the Eucharist to the center of Catholic worship. As noted above, the Jesuits opposed roodscreens and other enclosures that blocked a clear view of the consecrated host (see above, chapter 3). During the 17th century the Jesuits purposefully developed communion rails as the alternative that would enable all to behold this most sacred mystery.

75 See Frans Baudouin, "De 17de en de 18de eeuw," in Aerts 1993, 240–243, on the altar in Antwerp Cathedral; Becker 1990, 147; Herremans 2006–2007, VI, Cat. Nr.297.

76 An anonymous donation of 25 guilders made in 1666–1667 for a "new communion rail, marriage choir, or other purpose" suggests that the chapel wardens raised money with these projects in mind: see RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1666–1667, f.152v. A temporary wooden rail apparently was installed earlier, and then sold 1696–1697 for 12 guilders: RAAKASJA B.9, Rekeningboek: 1689–1690–1726–1727; f.34r.

77 Baisier 2008, I, 127.

78 RAAKASJA B.9, Rekeningboek: 1689–1690–1726–1727, account of 1692–1693, f.20r.: May 29, 1693: "geven aen confrater Moermans voor het vergulden van het cruys en het teekenen van de comuenebanck samen 4–17".

79 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 252–259 and bylage 46 for the contract.

80 Baisier 2008, I, 88, on the Antwerp Jesuit Church communion rail, mostly destroyed in the fire of 1718.



FIGURE 5.25 *Whole view of the Sacrament Chapel communion rail facing the front of the altar.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

In their own churches the Jesuits adapted the communion rail to reconfigure a variety of interactions centered on the Blessed Sacrament. First, the communion rail still drew a clear boundary separating the sacred altar from the more public space of the nave or chapel. Unlike other kinds of altar enclosure in Flemish churches—the so-called “tuinen” balustrades that reached a greater height—communion rails offered the communicants a broad step on which to kneel and a low top over which they easily could receive with open mouths the host proffered between the thumb and index finger of the standing priest.⁸¹ Communion rails, like confessionals, fixed the superior position of the priest and the humble posture of the recipient.

With their broad, flat tops, communion rails also served as the tables of the sacred meal. *The Last Supper* altarpiece visualized that connection for St. Jacob’s parishioners who witnessed the institution of the sacrament that they knelt to receive. The Blessed Sacrament Chapel covered the rail with a “communion cloth”, in the liturgical colors of white, green, red, or purple, depending on the feast and time of year.⁸² Communicants in the diocese of Antwerp were instructed to put their hands under the cloth and spread it open to catch any precious crumbs of the host that might fall. They also were offered communion wine to help swallow the dry consecrated bread. This was plain wine,

81 See Hauchinus and Boonen 1796, 52; *Christelyke onderwyzing* 1756, 335.

82 B.17, Memori boeck van alle De Donderdaegsche gesonge missen, ende de andere fondation, in de Cappelle van HH Sacrament, f.4r.: starting from back of the book, inventory of 1781.

unlike the kind changed into Christ's blood that only the officiating priest could drink.⁸³

St. Jacob's new communion rail did more than separate the sacred from the profane, arrange the rite of standing priest and kneeling communicant, and serve as the table of the Lord's Supper. Its low height also met the Jesuits' demand that the eyes of the faithful should be able to feast on the sight of the mass and the consecrated host at the high altar. St. Jacob's high altar was inaccessible, hidden behind the roodscreen, inside a locked choir. Reports from early in the 17th century describe how only the most notable parishioners received communion there, and after 1657 the high altar became the exclusive precinct of the new collegiate chapter of canons (see below, chapter 7).⁸⁴ The Blessed Sacrament Chapel consequently served as the high altar's surrogate where the press of the faithful could worship the Eucharist. Antwerp's bishop officially recognized that important status in 1682 when he decreed that the consecrated host could be displayed in St. Jacob's only on the high altar or on the altar of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.⁸⁵ The chapel obtained a *de facto* monopoly over this most sacred cult.

Frequency of communion increased in St. Jacob's from the mid-17th to the mid-18th century. In the early 1640s the church paid annually for around 10,300

83 *Mechelsche Catechismus* 1916, 68: "Ik zal op de communiebank mijne handen onder 't communiekleed steken en het openspreiden. . ."; Christelyke Onderwyzing 1756, 336: "V. Is het ook Christus Bloed, dat men ons geeft naer de H. Communie? A. Geenzins: maer alleen wyn, dienende om de Heylige Nutting te voorderen." At St. Jacob's, gifts from parishioners on receipt of communion wine and church expenditures to pay for communion wine presented to clergy and laity alike are recorded in the accounts: RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1595–1597, f.2v.; RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1617–1618, "Ontfanghen van den wyn den comunicanten geschoncken", 415 guilders 6 stivers; RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1641–1642, f.1r–2v.

84 Antwerp Cathedral Archive, Capsa Dominorum 23/ 30: 1608, St. Jacob's churchwardens in a complaint submitted to the Antwerp Magistracy, report that, on the most important feast days of the year at high mass on the high altar, the pastor "vuytgereyckht heeft thoochweerdich heylich sacrament des altaers, ende dat alleenelyck voor eenighen vande notabelste vanden prochie" ("has ministered the venerable Blessed Sacrament of the altar, and that only to some of the most notable parishioners").

85 RAAKASJA B.17, *Memori boeck van alle De Donderdaegsche gesonge missen, ende de andere fondation, in de Cappelle van HH Sacrament*, f.23r: "Item een acte van syne doorluchtigste Hoogweirdigheyd Joannes Ferdinandus Bisschop deser stad was in dato 11. Febyr. 1682, waer by word verboden het uytstellen vant' venerabel inde capellen, permitterende allenelyck sulcx te mogen geschiden in de venerabele cappelle ende choir deser kerken."

hosts.⁸⁶ Between 1766 and 1768 St. Jacob's bought more than 60,000 hosts that were distributed in a parish of around 9,000 inhabitants, indicating the general acceptance of the Blessed Sacrament at Easter, and more frequent communion among a significant part of the population.⁸⁷ The difference between two kinds of host, a larger "mass" host that was broken into individual portions, and smaller "communion" hosts, suggests as well that communion was received separately, apart from other services, in a quantity that spilled over beyond the Easter communion required of each parishioner.

The communion rail also gathered together those in the community who knelt awaiting and receiving the Blessed Sacrament. Close up against it, they could see at eye level the rich carvings that marked a significant innovation in the history of Flemish sculpture. Apparently, the communion rail in the Antwerp Jesuit Church, installed in 1661, already had developed an elaborate Eucharistic iconography.⁸⁸ At St. Jacob's, ears of wheat and grape vines flourish on the sides of each panel (fig. 5.26). But now two child-like angels occupy the center where, through gestures of reverence and wonder, they elicit devotion to the Eucharistic symbols that they adore. Each post separating the panels is ornamented with the oval medallion of a saint carved in low relief, fashioned in the conceit that it hangs there as a temporary decoration.

The particular combination of saints and symbols was spelled out in the contract and mixed together common signs of the Eucharist with figures that held more personal meaning for donors and supporters. Joannes Moermans, in his 1696 transcription of the contract, noted at the bottom that "The whole communion rail was paid for by Miss Martens, God is her reward." He meant Catharina Martens, "spiritual daughter," who in 1699 founded an annual mass in the chapel for the soul of her late brother Gregorius, burgomaster and alderman of Antwerp. The brother, a major benefactor, followed the tradition of his father Gregorius senior who had served as chapel warden during the 1620s and

86 RAAKASJA R.29, Grootboek der Kerkrekening 1641–1644, f.172.

87 RAAKASJA R.16, Kerkrekening 1752–1753, f.55v.: "Item aen Petronella Mattheessens voor 36000 cleyne hostien", 11 guilders 14 stuivers; account of 1757, f.174v., 41,500 communion hosts; account of 1759, f.220v: to Maria Marcellis "voor t'leveren van groote hostien 19500 in het Jaer 1759", 39 guilders; f.225r., to Widow Sturcken for "50,000 communie broodt ten tyde van Paesschen", 16 guilders 5 stivers; account of 1760, f.247v., "item aen Maria marcellis voor geleverd 19000. misbroot a/2 het duysent", 38 guilders; account of 1761, f.272r., to Maria Marcellis for 19,000 "misbroot", 38 guilders; to Widow Sturcken for "44,000 communiebroot a 6 1/2 stuyvers par duysent", 14 guilders 6 stivers. In 1784 the parish population numbered 8,924.

88 Baisier 2008, I, 88.



FIGURE 5.26 *Detail of fig. 5.25, center panel of the front side of the communion rail with two Angels adoring the consecrated host and open work carving of sheaves of wheat and grape vines on the sides.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

chose burial there with the rest of his family;⁸⁹ Catharina Martens, the donor, and her brother Gregorius, are commemorated through their name saints Catherine of Alexandria and Gregory the Great on the left and right corners at the front of the communion rail (fig. 5.27).

Personal motives also may have decided what was depicted on the right-hand panel along the short side of the communion rail. Instead of settling the matter, the contract offered two alternatives, The Sweet Name of Jesus or The Good Shepherd, and the latter was chosen in the end (fig. 5.28; fig. 5.29). This

89 RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans, f.26v., "Is betaelt de heel communiebanck door jofvrou Martens. 1696. Godt is haeren loon. "; RAAKASJA B.13, *Memorie Boeck/ Van de cappel*, f.43v., records foundation by "Catharina Martens geestelycke dochter" of masses for her late brother, former burgomaster Gregorius Martens; RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, f.8v., f.13r., where Gregory Martens signed off on the accounts of 1622–1623, 1623–1624; for the burials, see below, n.121.



FIGURE 5.27 *Detail of fig. 5.25, relief medallion of St. Catherine of Alexandria on the left front post of the communion rail.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 5.28 *Whole view of the side of the communion rail.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 5.29 *Detail of fig. 5.33, relief panel of the Good Shepherd.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

sculpture exemplifies the selfless priest, ready to sacrifice himself for his flock and could have been meant to honor the pastors of St. Jacob's, Franciscus and Joannes van den Bossche, who succeeded one another from 1640–1680, and dedicated themselves to strengthening all institutions in the church, not least the Blessed Sacrament Chapel where they both were buried, and were commemorated in portraits as well (for the portraits, see figs. 1.4 and 5.37). It also is possible that Joseph Chanon, the current parish priest at St. Jacob's, offered to pay for a panel of The Good Shepherd as part of his promises gone wrong that ended in a bitter dispute with the Sacrament Chapel wardens. Chanon later commemorated himself with an epitaph monument in the south ambulatory depicting The Good Shepherd, even though he was notorious for the conflicts he provoked with the different constituencies he served (see below, fig. 10.18 for the monument).⁹⁰

The central panel at the front (fig. 5.26) appealed to all those parishioners who founded masses in the chapel on behalf of their own and their loved ones' souls. For example, Mechelyne van Seculeeris, "jonge dochter," an unmarried woman of religious bent, who scrubbed the chapel clean, out of devotion and for pay, left a bequest of 300 guilders in 1687 to pay for singing the hymn "Ecce panis angelorum." She instructed that it be sung within the reading of the Epistle at mass each Thursday, the day of the Last Supper.⁹¹ These same words appear in the center panel of the communion rail, below the radiant host and chalice adored by the two angels, "ECCE PANIS ANGELORUM: BEHOLD THE BREAD OF ANGELS", invoking the famous hymn from which the words are taken, St. Thomas Aquinas's *Lauda Syon* written in 1264 as part of the mass for the newly instituted feast of Corpus Christi, printed in the Roman Missal, and sung in the Eucharistic masses celebrated by the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.⁹² Words from the hymn glorified by angels and the image of the consecrated host above them, lead the communicant's glance upwards to the actual mass and consecrated host on the altar.

St. Jacob's communion rail quickly gained exemplary status. Its open white marble scrollwork of wheat and grapes, animated by pairs of cherubic angels,

⁹⁰ For the dispute see below, n.122.

⁹¹ RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1686–1687, f.235r. for endowment; account of 1691–1691, f.263v., 9 guilders paid to the same woman for a year of scrubbing the chapel. Cleaning altars signified devout humility even in the most powerful women, for example the Empress Eleonora who secretly cleaned the lamps and floor of the church, like a common house maid: see Timotheus à Presentatione B.V.M. 1726, 259.

⁹² See Rubin 1991, 191–193.

was imitated closely in the communion rail carved 1707–1708 by Antwerp sculptor Alexander van Papenhove for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in the St. Pieterskerk at Leuven.⁹³ Years later, donors of a new communion rail for Antwerp Cathedral's Sacrament Chapel praised St. Jacob's communion rail as "the best model in the country."⁹⁴

5.14 Eucharist and Marriage

Plans for the expanded Blessed Sacrament Chapel in 1665 included a new "marriage chapel" that actually was completed in 1676. This new addition implemented in concrete form two fundamental policies on marriage set by the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent. First, the bond between marriage and Church was tightened by the strong recommendation that the bride and groom marry in a state of grace attainable only through confession and communion, thus emphasizing the sacramental nature of marriage by association with the other sacraments.⁹⁵ Second, the actual ceremony was to be published in three banns, the priest was to officiate at the marriage, and he was obliged to record it in the parish register. These measures brought marriage into the public arena to prevent the clandestine unions of which families and worldly authority did not approve. Marriage as a sacrament also literally was brought back inside the Church, to the altar or chapel, away from the threshold of the portal outside the south transept where weddings had taken place during the late Middle Ages.⁹⁶ It is no accident that St. Jacob's located its "marriage chapel" adjacent to exactly this part of the church traditionally associated with marriage.

Most weddings in 17th-century Antwerp were contracted at the altar of the parish church during mass.⁹⁷ But in two cases, in the Cathedral and in St. Jacob's, separate chapels offered parishioners the choice to marry in a more

93 See Mellaerts 1998, 116.

94 See Baudouin 1993, 400, n.168: "het beste model alhier te land."

95 See *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 185, Twenty-Fourth Session, Decree Concerning the Reform of Matrimony, "... the holy council exhorts the betrothed that before they contract marriage ... they carefully confess their sins and approach devoutly the most Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist," repeated in popular handbooks such as *Christelyke Onderwyzinge* 1751, 339.

96 See *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 185, Twenty-Fourth Session, Decree Concerning the Reform of Matrimony, 184; Bossy 1985, 21–25.

97 See Marinus 1995, 229–230.

exclusive setting.⁹⁸ Each was built onto the side of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in its church, and could be entered only through the larger chapel. While the Cathedral marriage chapel has disappeared without a trace, St. Jacob's marriage chapel stands intact, displaying the best-integrated program of architecture, sculpture, and painting in Antwerp to survive from the late 17th century.

The older marriage chapel that stood next to the Sacrament Chapel by 1634–1635 was torn down in the expansion of 1665.⁹⁹ Money for its replacement must have been short at that time, but Artus Quellinus the Elder or Younger still was paid 500 guilders in 1665–1667 to ornament the portal that opened to nowhere when it was built (fig. 5.30).¹⁰⁰ Seraphs in white marble flank the sides of the black stone that frames an oaken door. Above, a Resurrected Christ stands on the pedestal between the segments of the broken pediment (fig. 5.31). He supports his cross as he glances at the Sacrament Chapel altar where his body is sacrificed at the mass, and he points downwards to a gilded chalice and consecrated host carved into the door. From the wound in his breast blood once spilled into a chalice held by one of the two attending angels (the chalice, the forearm of the angel that held it, and the stream of blood now are missing, but they are evident in older photographs; fig. 5.32).¹⁰¹ Christ, in this location, also promised the resurrection of Nicola Alberti who had died in 1557 when she bequeathed a legacy to the Sacrament Chapel. Her descendants paid for the doorway in her honor and prominently displayed their own coats of arms. The portal ingeniously combines several functions. It opens a grand entrance into the marriage chapel, it stands as the epitaph monument of Nicola Alberti,

98 See Grieten 1993, 137–138 on the Cathedral marriage chapel.

99 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, account of 1634–1635, f.40r., receipt of 25 guilders 6 1/2 stivers from four bridegrooms for marriage “int trouwe coerken”; account of 1665–1666, f.149v., 240 guilders reimbursed to Joannes Moermans for outlays relating “tot de poort vande Trouw koor”.

100 Attributed by Van Lierus 1855, 94–95, to Artus Quellinus the Elder. But, see Gabriels 1930, 298, note 325 B, 1, who argues that the style indicates Artus Quellinus the Younger, and that the contract, then in possession of Mr. Donnet, is signed “Artus Quellin” in the handwriting of Artus Quellinus the Younger. The total sum of 500 guilders is reported by chapel warden Grangé, cited in Baisier 2008, 1, 129, n.592.

101 FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, *MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel*, 18; RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, account of 1666–1667, f.153r., 55 guilders to “Sr. Quellin beltsnyer over een reeckeninge dye hy pretenderde van d nae werck vande Sacristyn poirt ende dmaken van een Cathologe”.



FIGURE 5.30 *Artus Quellinus the Elder of Younger. Marriage chapel portal flanked by wainscoting and pews.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

and it exalts the body of the resurrected Christ who faces back into the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.¹⁰²

The marriage chapel itself and an adjacent sacristy were built 1669–1676 over a parcel of land annexed by the Blessed Sacrament Chapel from St. Jacob's south churchyard (fig. 5.33).¹⁰³ Benefactors from families previously associated with the Sacrament Chapel generously supported the project that was entrusted to sculptor Sebastian van den Eynden who designed and executed the ornamental program in the structure built by his master-mason brother

102 Van Lierus 1855, 95; RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, account of 1558, f.17r., record of legacy from “een ytaliansche vrouwe inde coninck strate” is annotated in the margin by a different hand: “Nota. Dat dese italiaense vrouwe is geweest vrouwe Nicola Alberti, geboren van florentien uyt de graven van Qertaldo: weduwe wylen heer Michiel de Berti: sy stirf den 24. october Anno 1557”.

103 Chapel wardens request permission in Feb.–March 1669 from the city Magistrate, bishop of Antwerp, and Cathedral chapter to acquire this land: RAAKASJA 1015, f.13r.–16r.



FIGURE 5.31 *Detail of fig. 5.30. Artus Quellinus the Elder or Younger. Resurrected Christ over the portal.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 5.32 1941 photograph of the marriage chapel portal that shows the chalice held by the angel on the left and the stream of blood flowing from Christ's wound.
KIK B026474.



FIGURE 5.33 *Exterior view of the marriage chapel and Sacrament Chapel sacristy, capped by the low roof underneath the two lancet windows in the bays of the larger Sacrament Chapel.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Jan at a cumulative cost of no less than 6,869 guilders.¹⁰⁴ It will become apparent that other artists as well participated on a smaller scale.

Elite families in the parish quickly chose to celebrate their weddings in the marriage chapel and volunteered gifts in return for the privilege. But Joannes Moermans complained in 1684–1685 that “nothing was received this year in the marriage chapel even though numerous rich people married there and burned our candles” because, he said, the chapel wardens were not well enough informed about the ceremonies. Income from this source remained

104 Major donations from Catharina Martens, Gregorius Martens (former burgomaster, future pensionary of Antwerp), Miss Lunden, Miss Isabella Clara de la Faille, Edouard de Berti (secretary of the Secret Council in Brussels), Constantinus de Weerdt, secretary of Antwerp; RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1667–1668, f.158r., f.158v., f.159v.; account of 1669–1670, f.161r.; 1670–1671, f.164r., f.164v.; RAAKASJA 1018, receipt, 1671, from sculptor Sebastian van den Eynden for 2,346 guilders.

intermittent, but increased later in the 18th century.¹⁰⁵ The chapel lent social distinction to those who married there.

Although always called the “marriage chapel,” very little, if anything, in the elaborate decoration refers to marriage. Even the white marble angels on the keystone of the sacristy portal, who exchange a loving glance and enfold their wings one over the other, express the divine love that burns in the heart of Jesus, carved in the wooden door below. In fact, everything in this marriage chapel invites a more intimate and personal veneration of the Eucharist in answer to the first and deeper motivation to build “a new small chapel for repose of the Most Blessed Sacrament and a new sacristy to use in service of the Most Blessed Sacrament.”¹⁰⁶ From outside, the marriage chapel appears to be a minor addition to the larger body of the church. But it unfolds inside like a secret chamber, a treasure house that dazzles those who enter (fig. 5.34). The marriage chapel fits inside the Sacrament Chapel, inside the church, and contains a tabernacle, which contains a locked iron box, which contains a ciborium, which contains the consecrated host. The chapel was conceived as a precious jewel box in which to set the most priceless jewel of all, God in the sacrificial holy bread.

Decoration fills the small room to overflowing. All four walls are revetted with white, red, and black marble. In 1671 Sebastian van den Eynden carved the marble altar with its two black marble side niches for 1,000 guilders (the altar tabernacle was added later, as I describe it below; fig. 5.35). Along the south wall, the three windows originally displayed coats of arms in stained glass of the De Berti, Martens, and Anthoine families, all buried in crypts below. In the rectangular field between the first two windows on the south side, Antoine Goubau painted on a marble panel inserted into the wall in 1673–1674 *The Last Supper* as a highly personal memorial, to mark the devotion and grave of chapel warden Joannes Moermans, whose epitaph inscription stands below the painting (fig. 5.36).¹⁰⁷

105 RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1684–1684, f.227r.

106 RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1668–1669, f.158r.

107 RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1672–1673, f.174r.: “Item aen monsieur Antoin Goubou schilder betaelt voor een schildery die in st.[Van Lerijs reads: stuck] marber staet te weten daer de vier deelen der Werelt het Heylich Sacrament aen bidden etz 80/ Item voor een avont mael op marber geschildert int trou choorken noch betaelt 24”. Van Lerijs 1855, 100, identified the figure of St. John in *The Last Supper* as a portrait of Moermans. But the face is too undefined to warrant this suggestion and it does not match



FIGURE 5.34 *Interior of the marriage chapel from west to east.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 5.35
Close view of the marriage chapel altar.
KIK E034612.



FIGURE 5.36 *Antoine Goubau. The Last Supper.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

Moermans is commemorated again in the group portrait that Pieter Thys painted 1675–1676 to fill the lunette over the doorway leading to the sacristy (fig. 5.37). Here the four serving chapel wardens join together, dressed in their sober black uniforms, each holding a burning candle, to venerate the consecrated host. Joannes van den Bossche, their chaplain and the current pastor of St. Jacob's, leads them, vested in a translucent white surplice and stole with gold borders. On the extreme right stands the Sacrament Chapel's paid assistant, perhaps Joannes Kimps.¹⁰⁸ The chapel wardens—Moermans, Louis van Caukercken, Andreas Ercken, and Mechior Franciscus Cederix—along with the priest, each paid for his portrait in order “to conclude and perfect the work”

any of the faces in the group portrait of the chapel wardens painted by Pieter Thys that I will discuss below, where Moermans certainly is one of the individuals included.

108 FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 95, listing rules and regulations drawn up in 1778 for the assistant (“cnaep”). RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans: f.2r: 1690, Missen die nu syn ge[fondeert] in de Colegiaele kerc van sint Jacop, includes Joannes Kimps who had been “cnaep” of the chapel.



FIGURE 5.37 *Pieter Thys. Group Portrait of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel Wardens, over the door to the sacristy on the west wall of the marriage chapel.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

of the marriage chapel. They proudly note that the artist Pieter Thys enjoyed the patronage of the emperor.¹⁰⁹ An inscription on the black marble plaque over the door to the right of the painting doubled the commemoration of their achievement: “For this building we bought the ground/ / So God might repose here safe and sound/ Through many alms upraised/ So that this work might be paid” (fig. 5.38).¹¹⁰

109 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1675–1676: f.186r*: “Item soo dient voor me morie al dat de 4 dienende Cappelmesters met E Heer Caplaen hebben een schildrey geven in het trouw coerken uyt haer lieden boerse om het werck te sluyten ende volmaect te seyn De welck schildrey staet ider seyn Conterveysel ende hebb daer voor betaelt elck 36 gul ende de cappelmester ende cappelaen waeren deser De E. Heer Joannes vanden Bosse Capelaen ende pastoer van dese proghie Jannes Moermans Andries Eerckens Lodewecus van Couccancken Melsioer Fransus Cedericx gemaect door Sr Peeterus teysens tegenwoordich schilder van den Ceyser”.

110 Wy kochten d'erf tot desen bov/ Om dat daer Godt in rvsten sovw/ Door menich aelmoes op ghehaelt/ Op dat dit werck sov sijn betaelt/ Ioannes Moermans Andreas Ercken/ Lodovicvs v couvkercken Melchior Frans Cederix/ Dit Is hler nV Volmaect In febrVarIVs



FIGURE 5.38 *View of the west wall partition between the marriage chapel and the sacristy and of the north entrance door to the marriage chapel from the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, with the commemorative inscription in gilded letters on black marble over the door on the right.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

The two portraits at the far sides, a chapel warden on the left and the chapel's assistant on the right, bracket a symmetrical composition. Only they, lowest down at the edges of the lunette, glance outwards and invite viewers to join in their veneration of the Eucharist enacted by the others. In particular, the assistant at right fulfills one of his most important duties; ringing a "Sanctus" bell at the moments when the mass reached the "Sanctus" and the "Domine non sum dignus (Lord I am not worthy)," signaling to the participants that they should kneel (fig. 5.39; fig. 5.40). The four others turn inwards, establishing an inner concentration that gathers the attention of those attracted by the outward glances of the two side figures. The wardens second in from the left and closest to the Eucharist on the right touch their hearts to express fervent belief. The chaplain Van den Bossche, most prominent in scale, position, and attire, perfumes the air with sweet incense in honor of God who is miraculously present. All devotion centers on the consecrated host displayed in the large monstrance that, as I have shown, had become the Sacrament Chapel's trademark symbol (see above, fig. 5.15). The place where the six men worship



FIGURE 5.39 Detail of fig. 5.37, with the chapel assistant on the right holding a sanctus bell.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

suggests a sepulchral forecourt to heaven. That space is enclosed at the back by a severe Doric exedra which continues the chapel's perspective lines into fictive space, and in the foreground by a stone altar at the top of the stairs, contoured around the sacristy portal by a painted extension of the curving red marble arch. Two angels part the red curtains to reveal the Eucharist and glimpses of blue heaven beyond. At least three of the men portrayed—Moermans, Van Caukercken, and Van den Bossche—chose burial in the Sacrament Chapel, each commemorated by endowed masses, awaiting resurrection while their own likenesses perpetually adore the consecrated host.¹¹¹

Antoine Goubau, when he painted *The Last Supper* to commemorate Moermans in 1673–1674, also executed a second picture on marble, depicting the four parts of the world who venerate the Blessed Sacrament, now replaced

111 RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1674–1675, Pastor Joannes vanden Bossche pays 134 guilders 10 stuivers for his crypt and grave stone in the marriage chapel; RAAKASJA 1015, memorandum book of Joannes Moermans, f.2r.–f.2v.: 1690 Missen die nu syn ge[fondeert?] in de Colegiaele kerc van sint Jacop.



FIGURE 5.40 *19th-century sanctus bell in St. Jacob's.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 5.41

Jacobus Harrewyn. Copper plate for engraving of the marriage chapel, still the property of the church.
KIK M044873.

by a later painting of the same subject to which I will return. Although the chapel wardens claimed that they had completed the work in 1676, significant new additions to the marriage chapel were made throughout the 18th century. The broad outlines if not exact details of its state in 1686 are recorded in an engraving commissioned by Guillielmus Anthoine, Captain of the Antwerp Citadel, from Jacobus Harrewyn to publicize Anthoine's gifts to the chapel and his burial there (fig. 5.41; fig. 5.42).

Major changes came in two campaigns. Jacobus van Hal in 1743–1744 painted two large canvasses to decorate the north wall (fig. 5.43).¹¹² On the left one picture depicts *The Gathering of Manna* in a smooth, measured style that depends on Poussin's famous picture mediated through later French academic theory and practice (fig. 5.44). Moses and Aaron raise their arms heavenward in the right middle ground. Further back at the center, the Jews give thanks for the miraculous food that the group of women and children in the foreground

112 RAAKASJA B.10, Rekeningboek: 1727–1728/1759–1760, account of 1743–1744: 212: “Item aenden schrynwercker de Boeck voor het instellen der nieuwe schilderyen in het trauwchoorken 0–14”; Item voor het haelen der oude schilderyen 0–6”; RAAKASJA B.17, Memori boeck van alle De Donderdaegsche gesongte missen, ende de andere fondation, in de Cappelle van HH Sacrament, 1781 inventory of the chapel starting at the reverse of the book, f.5v., lists three paintings in the marriage chapel, including Thys's group portrait above the sacristy door, “ende de twee andere geschildert door J. van Hal, representerende het eene den regen vant’ manna, ende d’andere de vier deelen van de weirelt”.



FIGURE 5.42 Jacobus Harrewyn. Marriage chapel. 1686. Engraving.



FIGURE 5.43 View of the whole north wall, showing both pictures by Jacob van Hal, as in figs. 5.44–45.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

receive with joy. Their reactions are set against the more restrained masculine gestures of the soldiers grouped at the left.

Van Hal's second picture, *The Four Parts of the World Venerating the Eucharist*, replaced Goubau's earlier painting of the same subject (fig. 5.45). The pope, with a cardinal in red and a Jesuit in black, stands before the altar of a monumental Roman church and displays a heavenly vision of the Eucharist adored by angels. The rest of the picture is filled with personifications of the four continents and their retinues who acknowledge this revelation with varying degrees of recognition. Europe stands apart from the crowd on the raised stage in the left foreground, dressed regally, attended by her page and maid in waiting. She is fully cognizant of the Blessed Sacrament towards which she genuflects, gazing in heartfelt rapture, and swinging a censer as if she were officiating at the mass. Asia at the right in a luxurious fur-lined robe, America wearing red and green with feathers, and black Africa in blue on the left, all perform sacrifices that hint at the universal truth of the Eucharist, which their followers behold with wonder.



FIGURE 5.44 *Jacobus van Hal. The Gathering of Manna.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

The second major change to the marriage chapel was added in 1773–1774, when “house painter” Jacobus Herryngs truly completed the work by painting an illusionistic ceiling of architecture and sky that covers the bare surface as it appears in Harrewyn’s view of 1686 (see above, fig. 5.34).¹¹³ Herryngs divided

113 RAAKASJA B.11, Rekeningboek 1760–1761/1780–1781: f.157r.–f.157v., to master painter Sr. Jacobus Herreyngs for marbelising the wood case of the sanctuary, for painting “den leyst boven het steenwerck ende het steenwerck dat op vele plaetsen geplaestert was, als oock het Blasson met de cartellen boven de vensters met den arbeys boven volgens rekeninge”, 150 guilders.



FIGURE 5.45 *Jacobus van Hal. The Four Parts of the World Venerating the Eucharist.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

the vault of the chapel into three parts. The two sections at either narrow end open up through perspective balustrades to the heavens. Brilliant rays of light shine down on the altar from above. Herryns painted the middle part as if it were a masonry ceiling finished in stucco and ornamented by a circular stucco relief from which hangs the real chapel lamp, to which was added a sculpted angel (now lost) who seemed to hover overhead holding the lamp in midair.¹¹⁴

114 RAAKASJA B.11, *Rekeningboek 1760–1761/1780–1781*, account of 1774–1775, f.169v., records the love to the Eucharist demonstrated by donors who have paid for “het licht, brandende voor het Alderheyligste, het welcke voor desen altyt in eene venster ter zyde gestaen heeft,

The long sides of the vault are divided into six arches, three on each side, that appear to rise vertically in support of the ceiling above. The gilded inscriptions on escutcheons that fill the spaces inside the arches, all are passages taken from the psalms that allude both to the Eucharist and to particular locations and adjacent decorations.¹¹⁵

The last inscription, closest to Pieter Thys's group portrait painted almost a century earlier, is very rich in allusion. "Adore ye our Lord in his holie court," it commands (*The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 59. Psalm 28:2). This imagery confirms my interpretation of the space in Thys's picture as a forecourt to heaven that suggests the atrium of the tabernacle David built to house the Ark of the Covenant, the completion of which he is supposed to have celebrated with this psalm.¹¹⁶ In such a context the inscription celebrates as well the consecration of the new altar tabernacle on October 30, 1773, which marked completion of the last major sculptural project executed for the marriage chapel.

The tabernacle that now stands on the altar was built from the ground up in 1772–1773 to replace the original that had been worn down beyond repair (see above, figs. 5.35 and 5.42). It occupies an important position in the history of Counter Reformation art in St. Jacob's, because it proves the survival late into the 18th century of love for surfeit of ornament and precious material that

gebracht int midden van t trouwchoorken in eenen glasen lantairne oft bol, vastgehouden wordende door eenen Engel".

115 FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 81, description of ceiling, 82, transcriptions of inscriptions: 1: Memoriam fecit mirabilium/ suorum... Escam dedit/tinnentibus se. 2: Pluit illis manna ad/ manducandum et panem/ Caeli dedit eis. 3: Panem angelorum/ manducavit homo. 4: Adorabunt eum omnes reges/ terrae omnes gentis servient ei. 5: Protector noster aspice Deus,/ et respice in faciem Christi./ tui. 6: Adorate Dominum in/ atrio sancto ejus; over the entrance from the Sacrament Chapel: Psalm 110: 4: He hath made a memorie of his mervelous workes... He hath giuen meate to them that feare him. (referring as well to the chapel wardens' commemoration of their own work building the chapel in the inscription stone below: *The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 202); over Van Hals' painting of *The Gathering of Manna*: Psalm 77: 24: And he rayned them Manna to eate, and bread of heaven he gae to them. (*The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 142); over Van Hals' painting of *The Eucharist Venerated by the Four Parts of the World*: Psalm 77: 25: Bread of Angels did man eate: he sent them victuals in abundance. (*The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 142); on the right side of the altar over the window given by De Berti: Psalm 71: 11: And al Kings of the earth shal adore him: al nations shal serue him. (*The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 131); over the window given by Gregorius Martens: Psalm 83: 19: Because our protection is of our Lord: and of the holie one of Israel our King. (*The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 162).

116 *The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated*, 11, 59, "The Psalme of David, In the consummation of the tabernacle".

pointedly opposed the French Jansenist demand to strip the altars of extraneous luxury. The account of its construction written by chapel warden and notary J.B.J. Grangè concentrates lovingly on the precious materials of black marble, gilded brass, plush textiles, and exuberant fluttering angels, animated by the chronicler's reverence for telling the history of his own institution, and the notary's meticulous attention to detail. This fervent account also confirms that the allusive inscriptions painted by Herryngs play upon a thoughtful historical understanding of the marriage chapel's earlier decorations.¹¹⁷

At the tabernacle's core stood a strongbox of iron secured by a lock that could be opened only with three keys. It was lined inside with cloth of gold and red flowers and divided into three compartments that pivoted on a swivel carved as a sheaf of wheat and grape vines. Each part housed one of the Sacrament Chapel's most precious vessels—the large Barcelona monstrance acquired in 1733, the small monstrance, and the ciborium, both wrought by Moermans in 1665–1666. Chapel warden and joiner Joannes van Immerseel constructed the wainscot chest to enclose the iron box, marbleized by painter Jacobus Herryngs. And sculptor Guilielmus van den Kieboom carved all the wooden decorations of angels and festoons on the chest, as well as the heavenly epiphany above—the equilateral triangle of the Trinity at the center, inscribed in Hebrew with the holiest name of God, surrounded by an aureole of golden light, angels, and clouds—to fashion a beautiful symbolic ground that embraces the tabernacle into the larger architecture of the altar retable. Van den Kieboom also carved the angel head and other white marble ornaments that soften the black Namur marble tomb below, on which the tabernacle rests. The cost of it all was collected from the “principal” parishioners, including descendants of families long connected to the Sacrament Chapel (Jonckvrouw Maria Alexandrina Josepha Anthoine) and the newly wealthy textile entrepreneurs of Antwerp (J.B. Cogels). On consecration day, Oct. 30, 1773, everything was ready, except for the bronze relief that would cover the tabernacle door, replaced provisionally by the drawing that had been made in preparation for it.

Two years later, master silversmith Joannes Baptista Verberck the Younger “proudly and artfully” completed this relief that stands in front of the Holy of Holies, depicting the miracle of the loaves and fishes (fig. 5.46). Christ appears first at top right in the tempestuous landscape, surrounded by his apostles, as he preaches the Sermon on the Mount. Then he descends to the right middle

117 RAAKASJA B.11, *Rekeningboek 1760–1761/1780–1781*, account of 1774–1775, f.154v.–f.158r., separate narrative of the “new sanctuary with its accessories” by the responsible chapel warden Joannes Baptista Joseph Grangè, who was a professional notary. The following discussion, unless otherwise noted, depends on this source.



FIGURE 5.46 *Joannes Baptista Verberckt the Younger. Tabernacle door.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

ground where, to the wonder of those close by, he blesses and multiplies the meager fare on hand. His apostles on the left, in obvious reference to the Eucharist, distribute these miraculous loaves and fishes to the hungry multitude.¹¹⁸

The new tabernacle gave the finishing touch to the marriage chapel that stands now as the unique example of late-17th–18th-century Antwerp small scale ecclesiastical architecture in which painting and sculpture were integrated to form a unified program of decoration. It thus marks the second stage in a history of Antwerp's integrated chapel design, the first stage of which likewise is represented by only one surviving monument, the Houtappel Chapel built around 1630 in the former Antwerp Jesuit Church. But a communal effort over the span of a century, and not the wealth of one family in a few years' time, produced St. Jacob's marriage chapel. Devotion to the Eucharist, the search for commemoration, the intent to expand the Sacrament Chapel's income with the gifts of couples who married there, and the sanctification of marriage promoted by the Catholic Church, all motivated the drive to build and decorate this place.

5.15 Constituency

Support for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel broadened and deepened during the first two thirds of the 17th century. Income rose steadily from an average 365 guilders per annum in the 1590s to 674 guilders during the 1620s, and then climbed again during the 1650s to an average of 852 guilders each year.¹¹⁹ Members of the disbanded Blessed Sacrament guild no longer paid dues. But parish collections as well as fees for marriages and burials provided substantial new revenues from a strong constituency attracted by the sacred aura of the Eucharist and the illustrious status the chapel had attained, partly through its splendid ornament.¹²⁰

118 See the iconographic description in FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 84.

119 See RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, f.152v–f.275r.; RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, f.1r–31v.: averages exclude years in which collections were made for special projects.

120 See FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 7, notes that an annual collection replaced dues after 1585, but a handful of members still paid dues and entry fees until 1608–1609; see FAA PK3066: Theodore van Lerijs: Uyttreksels uyt de rekeningen van Venerabel Kapel in St. Jacobskerk [ex libris Emile Dilis], 14. Significant marriage fees started with the first mention of a "marriage chapel" attached to the Blessed Sacrament Chapel: RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account for 1634–1635, "f.40r.: Item int trouwen

Expansion of the chapel in 1665 and construction of the marriage chapel during the 1670s attracted even greater income from two major sources: burial rights and foundations for masses. A diverse group was laid to rest under the chapel floor during its first 100 years: a soldier who lived in the Jodestraat, a Spaniard, the wife of Loris de Riddere, for fees of a guilder or less before 1566. As the chapel gained in status, families paid more for the privilege. Dr. Oliverio, Jouffrouw Hellemans, and the widow of Gregory Martens all paid 20 or 36 guilders in 1636 for their final resting place.¹²¹ Some families marked their graves with impressive monuments or tomb slabs, as for example Peter Hellemans' late 16th-century wall epitaph surmounted by a resurrected Christ.¹²² But it was only after expansion in 1665 that the Blessed Sacrament Chapel became the most desirable location for burial in St. Jacob's. By then all the private chapels throughout the church had been built or occupied, and space in the choir was filled. The Blessed Sacrament Chapel could tap this pent up demand. Those with greatest wealth paid for their own crypts. Parishioners of more modest means bought a share in the "common crypt."

In 1690 the Sacrament Chapel fiercely protected this source of income against the parish church administration that tried to appropriate burial rights under the pavement of the south ambulatory where the third bay of the chapel had stood before expansion in 1665. Ceding that territory would have defeated the whole purpose of expansion in an economy of jealously guarded privileges. Moermans, the chapel warden who had supervised the expansion more than thirty years before, attacked St. Jacob's churchwardens and pastor in 1698, comparing them to lords who negotiated rights of passage across a peasant's land. When the peasant agreed and enclosed that path with a hedge, the lord of the manor turned around and claimed that the peasant lost all rights to the fenced-off land. Even though the chapel balustrade allowed free passage through the south ambulatory, the ground underneath still belonged to the chapel.¹²³

van 4 bridegoms int trouwe coerken 25–6 1/2". Significant fees for burials were recorded in the same year and both sources of income rose steadily throughout the century.

121 RAAKASJA B.7, Venerabelkapel: Rekeningboek 1556–1620, 1558–1559, f.24v, 1562–1563, f.50r, RAAKASJA B.8, Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1636–1637, f.48r.

122 See Lawrence 1981, 262, no. 76. The monument was moved to the marriage chapel where it now stands. Van Lerijs 1855, 102, notes that the Resurrected Christ depicted was lost by 1852. But it is included in the "Sepulcher Book" watercolor, RAAKASJA 2641.

123 See FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 39–40; see also the memorandum on the dispute that Moermans wrote 1698 as a warning against dealing with people like the pastor Jacobus Chanon: RAAKASJA B.9, Rekeningboek: 1689–1690–1726–1727, f.241r.

5.16 Masses and Charity

Often the same individuals and families who paid so dearly for burial in the Sacrament Chapel also endowed masses on behalf of their own and their loved ones' souls. Before expansion in 1665 only two endowments supported the celebration of "perpetual" masses at designated times each year.¹²⁴ Seventy years later, in 1735, that number had increased to fifty-nine, with twenty-four new foundations added between 1675 and 1696, probably encouraged by construction of the new altar and communion rail. Endowed masses were celebrated daily, weekly, or just once or twice a year. Donations could be in cash, house rents, missals, chalices, and sculptures. Bequests varied in size—from 2,000 to 200 guilders—and came with diverse conditions attached. Catharina Martens who had paid for the communion rail, founded a mass sung during the octave of Corpus Christi, when the *miserere* and *de profundis* were to be said over her grave, and a daily mass with one yellow and one white candle, to be tended by the chapel's assistant who was required as well to announce Catharina's annual commemorative mass to her close friends.

Donors sought the maximum benefit for their souls by connecting their masses with distribution of charity to the poor who were expected to pray for the benefactors. Joannes Moermans started the trend in 1672–1673 in the Sacrament Chapel, founding two masses a year with rent from his childhood house, St. Jacob, on the corner of the Kipdorp and St. Jacob Straat, close by the church. Forty breads would be handed out "for the souls of the benefactors."¹²⁵ The money value of charity distributed by the chapel increased to 75 guilders in 1685, and to 194 guilders in 1756–1757. Pedro Coget, in 1730, endowed a foundation with 2,000 guilders exclusively to distribute bread four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All Saints' Day, to hungry parishioners, without any provision for masses.

A select group of Antwerp's elite confirmed social status, commemorated its dead, and extended privilege into the afterlife through the burials, masses, and ornaments that contributed to the Blessed Sacrament Chapel's accumulation of wealth. Poverty guaranteed that the hungry would turn out for the doles of bread and in exchange offer their prayers to shorten a rich soul's time in purga-

124 For documentation of Sacrament Chapel endowed masses see RAAKASJA B.13, *Memorie Boeck/ Van de cappel van het heyligh/ Sacrament/ Des autuers inde collegiale kercke van St Jacobs binnen Antwerpen waer inne by maniere van Inventaris by een syn ghestelt alle de Ornemenen van den Autaer vande selve cappel als mede al de fondatien. obligatien en renten die dese cappel is hebbende tot desen tegen wordighen laere Ao 1673, f.13r.–27v.*

125 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692, account of 1672–1673, f.172v.*

tory. In this life and the next the rich profited from a plentiful supply of cheap labor. But the increasing number of rye and wheat breads distributed during the late 17th and 18th centuries suggests that the donors recognized the heavy poverty under which Antwerp's working class suffered exactly at this time of economic decline in the city. The Sacrament Chapel contributed its part to the larger portion of ecclesiastical charity. It was only late in the 18th century, in 1779, when Antwerp passed systematic legislation to control the dangerous increase of poverty, that the city came in conflict with the Church and banned collecting of alms by ecclesiastical institutions such as the Sacrament Chapel, choosing instead to strictly regulate the distribution of charity from one central, municipal source.¹²⁶ Lists compiled in 1779 to implement the suppression of Catholic charities and the confiscation of their goods demonstrate how St. Jacob's alms-giving foundations fitted into the larger patchwork pieced together by Antwerp's churches during the late 17th and first three-quarters of the 18th century to feed the city's poor. Pedro Coget's foundation and others left behind one characteristic material trace. His bequest also paid to mint the lead tokens that could be redeemed for a portion of bread. Sacrament chapels like that at St. Jacob's distributed as well tokens of general currency, because they administered so many smaller legacies.¹²⁷

5.17 Conclusion

Many who founded masses in St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament Chapel invested in the good reputation that the institution earned over the course of two centuries. Credibility was built into its bones when Spanish merchants and Antwerp patricians swore to pay for construction in 1549. At that moment the very existence of St. Jacob's was in doubt. But the chapel's independent status protected it from the recurrent financial crises that disrupted the workings of the parish. An unshakeable core of believers could maintain the integrity of the devotion because it functioned on a smaller, more manageable scale. Chapel wardens

126 See Lis and Soly 1996, 137–141, on the 1779 poor laws; RAAKASJA B.11, Rekeningboek 1760–1761/1780–1781, account of 1779–1780, f.210v.: “Nota Dit jaer hebben de meesters deser Capelle niet gecollecteert door de Parochie naer hunne oude gewoonte door dien by plaecaret nopens de directie van den gemeynen armen is verboden”.

127 De Beer 1929, 115–116, Pedro Coget, no. 56, yellow brass, engraved, Steen, Museum Mayer van den Bergh; 116, Ignatius Lamberti, no. 57, Steen 2 examples; 117, general benefactors of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, St. Jacob's, no. 58, Steen; 118, Cornelis Lantschot in Holy Name Chapel, no. 59, Steen; RAAKASJA B.10, Rekeningboek 1727–1728/1759–1760, 41–42, account of 1731–1732, with separate record of the Coget foundation, that includes payment to “Bodas” for cutting brass medallions.

vigilantly guarded against encroachments on their privileges and resources. During the 1660s, when St. Jacob's churchwardens tried to avoid bankruptcy by appropriating parishioners' bequests for commemorative masses, the Sacrament Chapel could assure potential donors that their legacies would remain intact.

Construction and decoration set in motion the process of incremental reinforcement that attracted more support and strengthened the identity of the institution. But the chapel never would have flourished as it did without the unique symbolic force that the Eucharist exerted on Catholic belief. Again and again, the Blessed Sacrament Chapel revived and thrived when all the other institutions in St. Jacob's weakened or disappeared. After the Catholic restoration in 1585 that resilience and constancy can be attributed to particular individuals and groups.

Cornelis van Dalem and Joannes Moermans, two chapel wardens who earned their livelihoods from the arts in Antwerp, most decisively shaped the history of the Sacrament Chapel. Both left signs of their extraordinary religious fervor expressed through the chapel. They decorated, expanded, kept accounts, improved finances, and inspired others. Because they infused the chapel with vitality and magnificence, it acted as a magnet for different groups who wished to associate themselves with an institution of singular distinction. In the 1590s the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian banker-merchant "nations" found that it provided them with the best credentials to prove their Catholic orthodoxy and their loyalty to the Hapsburg regime. In the 1620s a new network of power brokers who had gained control of Antwerp's Magistracy inscribed their names on the enclosure balusters that they contributed. Later in the century prominent Antwerp families who acquired private crypts under the Sacrament Chapel floor cemented these attachments over several generations with new gifts. Catharina Martens, for example, an unmarried "spiritual daughter" whose parents and brother were buried in the chapel, paid the whole cost of the new communion rail in 1695.

Even wealthy and powerful donors could not persuade the chapel wardens to waver from their vision in which the Eucharist stood as the focal point of veneration. Willem von Ehrenberg's 1666 view of the chapel presents that concept directly. I have noted how this picture unifies the space with perspective lines converging on the consecrated host. To keep that view intact the chapel wardens eliminated any clutter that might intervene. They applied the same principles of architectural order and decoration that the churchwardens had used to perfect the nave of St. Jacob's. Until the 19th century the Sacrament Chapel pushed intrusive, large-scale funerary sculptures to its peripheries. For example, major, life-size statues of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist carved by father and son Guiliam and Willem-Ignatius Kerricx around 1670

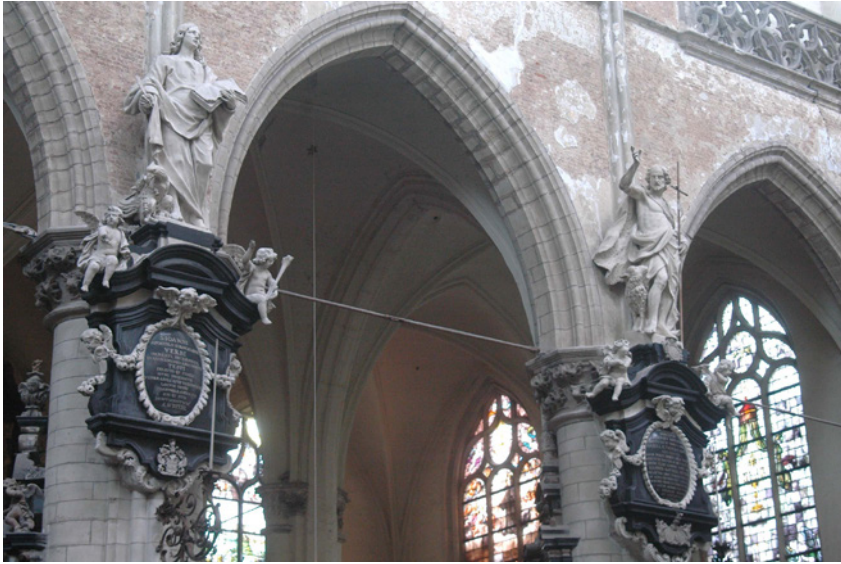


FIGURE 5.47 *Epitaph monuments to Jan Baptista Anthoine and Jan Baptista Franciscus Anthoine.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

(date on the epitaph) and after 1734 (date of notarial contract), now form a pair to commemorate uncle and nephew Jan Baptista Anthoine and Jan Baptista Franciscus Anthoine (fig. 5.47; fig. 5.48; fig. 5.49). Bequeathed as part of the family's legacy to the chapel, they were nevertheless installed outside, on the capitals of the piers facing into the south transept, where candles were lit every Sunday and feast day when mass was said at the Eucharist altar inside.¹²⁸ The two saints John marked the entrance, but did not intrude into the communal space. Constant vigilance to protect the unity of art and the veneration of the Eucharist demonstrated the chapel's institutional strength. In the next chapter I will argue that the second "great" chapel in St. Jacob's, dedicated to Our Lady, never equaled that clarity of purpose.

¹²⁸ RAAKASJA B.13, *Memorie Boeck/ Van de cappel van het heyligh/ Sacrament*, f.50v., records notarial act of Oct. 1, 1734, by which Jan Baptista Franciscus Anthone, canon of St. Jacobs and apostolic protonotary, arranges for an epitaph image in his memory of St. John the Baptist to be installed on a pillar outside the Sacrament Chapel next to the epitaph of the late Jan Baptista Anthone depicting St. John the Evangelist. The chapel wardens agree to burn candles of sufficient length in front of both images at the stipulated times. For the sculptures see Van Lerijs 1855, 82–83.



FIGURE 5.48 *Guilliam Kerricx. St. John the Evangelist.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 5.49 *Willem-Ignatius Kerrixx. St. John the Baptist.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

The Lady Chapel in Search of an Image

6.1 Introduction

The other “great chapel” of St. Jacob’s, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, “Our Dear Lady,” never enjoyed the deep and unshakeable support that placed the Blessed Sacrament Chapel at the center of the Counter Reformation in Antwerp. Founded in 1559, the Lady Chapel’s growth progressed slowly until the 1620s.¹ It was a chapel in search of a sacred image that could attract the fervent devotion already spread thin in a city filled with powerful and gracious manifestations of Mary. Even when the chapel finally did settle on one particular sculpture, conflict disrupted apportionment of space inside and private claims intruded on the communal dedication to the Virgin.

Antwerp Catholics worshipped various potent images of the Virgin. The proliferation of her cult was carefully orchestrated as part of the larger campaign to persuade and convert through visual communication. On the façade of the City Hall after 1587 she ruled again as the Queen of Heaven triumphant over heresy. In the Cathedral she was exalted as the miraculous Virgin on the Stick. Chosen as patroness of the city, the procession that carried her through Antwerp during the feast of the Assumption gave occasion to the most popular of the year’s celebrations. The prominence of image and procession as symbols of Catholic faith made them the flashpoints that triggered the first outbreaks of iconoclastic violence in 1566 and then marked the restoration of Catholic power after 1585. In the Dominican Church an image of the Virgin of the Rosary won over tens of thousands who joined the Rosary confraternity in devotion to her. On the façade of the new Jesuit Church completed in 1621 the Virgin enthroned in majesty looked down from the pediment and across the roofs to her counterpart on the City Hall, as she extended her protective gaze over the city that she loved. Inside the Jesuit Church, dedicated to the Virgin as well as to St. Ignatius of Loyola, diverse paintings and sculptures glorified her in the magnificent Houtappel Chapel dedicated to Mary. The Jesuits claimed that their example ignited the popular devotion expressed in the hundreds of Mary images erected on street corners throughout the city and cared for

1 See above, chapter 1, n.58, for the chapel’s foundation.

through countless acts of individual and communal piety.² By contrast, inside St. Jacob's no image of the Virgin had won the hearts of the people.

The Lady Chapel at St. Jacob's replaced its altarpiece three times in less than a century, indicating a restless dissatisfaction. Other chapels, even if they drastically changed the format of their altar retables, made it a point to conserve and often incorporate parts of the older decoration into the new arrangements. But no trace remains of the earlier altarpieces for the Lady Chapel.

First came a triptych with *The Assumption of the Virgin* at its center, *The Presentation of Mary* and *The Visitation* in the wings, donated by Francisca de Cuellar, widow of one of the wealthiest Spanish merchants in the city. A later inventory situated this triptych in the "old chapel", suggesting that it dated to between 1608 when Francisca de Cuellar included in her testament the earliest reference to a chapel, as opposed to an altar, of Our Dear Lady, and 1624, when the construction started that eventually would expand the chapel to its present size.³

Between 1624 and 1630 the Lady Chapel grew to three bays, an oblong row, reaching from the choir into the north transept, in a plan that intentionally mirrored the Sacrament Chapel as it was at the time (see fig. 1.6, dates 1559, 1624–1630, 1636, 1676).⁴ In 1636 the new ambulatory, built according to a "concept" approved by the "leading artists and master-builders" of the city, pushed

2 See Muller 2006 (Jesuit Use), 129.

3 RAAKASJA B.27, "grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock", begun as an ongoing inventory of chapel ornaments: 53: Schilderyen: "een oudt tafereel ofte autaer stuck wesende de hemelvaert van onse lieve vrouwe, met twee deuren, eertyde geven in d'oude Capelle door mevrouwe Quelliaer./ twee stucken dier eertyden hebben gestaen in de oude casse oft houdtwerck des voors. oudt autaer stuck, het subiect van het een wesende de presentatie van onse lieve vrouw het ander de visitatie van Elisabeth. Twee hooge pineelteens d'een een Cruceficx het ander Jesus, Maria, Joseph, gemaect tot het onderste nicken vande geseyde oude casse". Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 449, refers to the testament of Francisca de Cuellar.

4 RAAKASJA B.19/13, c.1624, draft of donors' pledge to contribute "tot het viercant maecken der voors. Cappelle volgens de modelle aen ons daervan gethoont"; RAAKASJA 991, file with documentation of the construction, including a contract of June 20, 1624, between chapel wardens and mason Jan van den Sande for construction of the chapel; RAAKASJA 993, July 24, 1624, request by chapel wardens to the city Magistrate for permission to build the chapel "in the manner like that of the Blessed Sacrament choir standing on the other side," an opportunity not to be missed considering that several "pious and devout people donate notable sums" for the purpose (2,200 guilders); RAAKASJA 995, 1628 receipt from Cornelis van den Eynde, surveyor and mason, for 2,500 guilders from Jan de Gaverelle for construction of the chapel; 1628 receipt from Cornelis van den Eynde for 500 guilders from Hendrick de Clerck "for the good work" of building the chapel.

aside the bay of the Our Lady Chapel adjacent to the choir. By way of compensation, a new bay expanded the Lady Chapel to the east, so that it now consisted of three bays, two of them bordering the new ambulatory.⁵ Only in 1676 did the Lady Chapel gain its fourth, northeast quarter to complete the four-square plan (see below for the expansion). Each major addition depended on a wealthy, powerful donor whose generosity was commemorated in a prominent monument that left its mark inside.

The building campaign of 1636 continued to 1640 when finishing touches were applied and the new altar was consecrated.⁶ Then, just five years later in 1645 the Lady Chapel signed a contract with the painter Philips Fruytiers for a new, larger triptych of *The Assumption*, set on the altar in 1646.⁷ Complete rejection of an older altarpiece was unusual. Normally at least the center panel of an older triptych would be incorporated into the structure of a new, more fashionable retable. In 1664, for example, when Sebastian van den Eynden designed and carved the splendid new black and white marble retable for the Lady Chapel, Fruytiers' picture graced the new altar that is dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption (fig. 6.1.).⁸ Although Fruytiers' altarpiece (now lost

5 See above, chapter 1, for this "concept."

6 RAAKASJA 1000, March 1639 receipt from stone cutter Jacques des Enfants for payment of 143 guilders 12 1/2 stivers for blue stone used for steps to the altar; RAAKASJA 1003, Dec. 2, 1640, payment of 30 guilders 19 stivers to Jacques des Enfants for blue stone used under the chapel enclosure; FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/6: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren, folder 25, Wijdingen: O.L. Vrouwekapel consecrated by Gaspar Nemius, bishop of Antwerp, March 31, 1640.

7 RAAKASJA B.27, "grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock", 53: "Een auterstuck inhoudende de assumptie ofte hemelvaert van onse lieve vrouwe gemaect door Philipus Fruytiers figuerschilder. Dit voors. stuck is gebrocht inde Capelle & gestelt op den autae, den 8. December ao.1646; 322: Obligation, Accoorden ofte bescheeden tot last vande Capelle. Op 13 September ao 1645 heeft Octavio Jerry & Adriaen de Cock beyde regeerders van dese Capelle aengegaen een accoort met Philips Fruytiers figuren schilder binnen Antwerpen ten eyden dat den voors. Fruytiers soude maeken een auterstuck nemende voor subiect de Hemelvaert van onse lieve Vrouwe hoog omtrent 15 voeten & 10 voeten breedt; hier beneffens noch twee groote stucken & vier cleyn, achter volgens de beschryvinge daervan synde gecoteert 11. VI. 30." The cost was 1,150 guilders, although Fruytiers agreed to donate 600 guilders to the chapel. These entries mark the last traces of this altarpiece.

8 But the imagery of the retable also introduced references to the Immaculate Conception that were controversial at the time. Below the image of Mary with the Christ Child enthroned in the "upper work" niche of the retable the inscription reads: *deipara.assVMpta patet nobIs. IanVa.Coeli*. The white marble sun carved in relief on the left and the moon on the right of



FIGURE 6.1 *Sebastian van den Eynden. Our Lady Chapel Altar Retable. 1664.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

without a trace) remained in place until early in the 18th century, it quickly was eclipsed by another image in which the chapel found its true spiritual center.

In 1650, the Lady Chapel finally acquired the image around which it could build a fervent cult: “a devout image of the Mother of God, set under the cross, representing the inner sorrow of her heart, from contemplating the pierced dead body of her only son resting on her maidenly lap (fig. 6.2.).”⁹ A glance at the smaller than life-size wooden *Pietà* shows how the chapel decided on a strategy that set its image apart from the many miraculous “glorious” Virgins in Antwerp. By permission of the bishop, this “sorrowful Virgin” was “exalted” on March 6, 1650, the first Sunday in Lent. The image was closely associated from the start with solemn meditations on the suffering of Christ led by visiting preachers and reinforced through distribution of prayer pamphlets depicting the mourning Virgin in a sequence of woodcuts, each displaying one of the five wounds of Christ. The next Sunday in Lent the image was carried in procession through the church, and then set down before the altar of the Lady Chapel where it was worshipped to the sad song of the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*. On each of the remaining Saturdays in Lent a Capuchin preached on the Virgin’s sorrows and then led worshippers in singing her praise.¹⁰ The coordination of image, meditative prayer, animating ritual, sermons, music, and litany at a crucial time of the year suggests a programmatic campaign to instill devotion.

The choice of image was not accidental. At precisely this time the Jesuits of Flanders led a concerted effort to revive a late-medieval tradition of meditations on the five wounds of Christ. Willem de Wael, an influential Jesuit father, wrote a devotional tract to disseminate the practice, the *Corona sacratissimum Iesu Christi vulnerum* (Crown of the most sacred wounds of Jesus Christ) published at Antwerp in 1649. De Wael commented exhaustively on the significance of the prayer and guided his many readers through the meditations that were visualized in a series of woodcuts. First Mary is depicted under the cross where she grieves over the body of her son. Christ’s wounds are diagramed in a pentagram of salvation. Then separate close-up images concentrate on each

the niche as well as Christ trampling the head of the serpent wrapped around the globe, refer to the conflation of Mary as the Apocalyptic Woman with the Immaculate Conception.

9 RAAKASJA B.52/4, extract from the lost Lady Chapel “Grootboeck”, f.453: “...in den Beginne vant jaer 1650 ons ter handt gecomen is een devoot beelt van Maria de Moeder Godts tgene gestelt onder het Cruys, representeert de inwendighe droeftheyt haers herte, door het over pysen van het doorwondt dootd lichame haers eenigh soon rustende op haeren maeghdelycken schoot”.

10 RAAKASJA B.52/4.



FIGURE 6.2 *Sorrowful Mother, or Pietà*, acquired by the Our Lady Chapel in 1650.
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

wound, as a focus of inner contemplation. Not only Jesuits, but Capuchins as well, and Jansenists, inspired by the writings of Cornelius Jansenius, the bishop of Yper, especially his 1640 *Augustinus*, adopted this sober devotion to the five wounds of Christ, and worked actively to support it.¹¹

The origins of St. Jacob's image derive from the major differences that separated these groups. Jansenists sought to cleanse the whole Church of laxity in penance, outward displays of superficial devotion, and exaggerated attention to images, saints, or Mary. They blamed the Jesuits above all for what they perceived as corrupt practices. The Jesuits and Capuchins accommodated to the human need for spectacle and concrete imagery. They argued that only a smaller circle of devout believers could accomplish the serious work of inner meditation. The Jansenists demanded that the Catholic Church turn to inner piety as the exclusive and universal practice of religion.¹²

By choosing in 1650 to exalt their image of the "Sorrowful Mother" the Lady Chapel at St. Jacob's took the earliest step towards spreading the meditation on the five wounds of Christ among the parishes and laypeople of Antwerp. Especially in a chapel dedicated to Mary this signified a noticeable shift away from glorifying the mother apart from her son. Seated under the cross, beneath the winding sheet in which Jesus would be buried, Mary displays the body of her son, and provides the affective model for meditation on his suffering.

The image attracted a steady following during Lenten devotions when she was displayed under an honorific canopy and framed in wainscoting.¹³ To attract a wider audience, it would have to offer more than a focus for reflective prayer. On Aug. 16, 1673, the day after the feast of the Virgin's Assumption, to which the chapel was dedicated, the testimony of Dorothea Janssens provided that credential. Following her prayer to the "Sorrowful Mother" she was cured of a long illness and converted, probably from Lutheranism (she was a native

11 See Christine Göttler, "Impressed on Paper and on Hearts': David Teniers' Portrait of Bishop Triest (1652) and the Virtue of the Image of Christ's Wounds," in *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images*, ed. Ralph Dekoninck and Agnès Guiderdoni. Imago Figurata Series, Turnhout, 2007, 569–592.

12 See Thijs 1990, 207–211.

13 RAAKASJA B.27, "grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock", 39: "Tabernakels ofte pavilloens van het belt der bedroefde moeder godts, genoempt ons lieve Vrouwe van den H. Wonden; one with violet and silver cloth, and four drapes with gold lace; one of violet satin with silver lace; one of black satin embroidered in gold with fine gold lace around it; 74: "Een schrage met een berrie van wagenschoet, waerop Jaerlycx wtgesteld wort het belt vande bedroefde moeder verthoonende int lichaem van haeren sone de H.H. vyff wonden, welcke schrage aen een gehecht is met 8 ysere vysen, daer by syde vier groote vyse dienende tot het voors. belt."

of Copenhagen). Baptized in St. Jacob's, she took on the very Catholic name of Maria Victoria.¹⁴ The image's new power to cure and convert may finally have convinced believers to formalize what had been a popular devotion.

A few months later, on Feb. 10, 1674, once again the first Sunday in Lent, parishioners and clergy founded a confraternity dedicated to "The Sorrowful Mother, Comforter of the Oppressed," replete with papal indulgences for those who prayed in the Lady Chapel where the image was venerated.¹⁵ During the first year 896 members inscribed, 779 of them women. Over the next six decades eighteen new members, on average, joined each year.¹⁶ In 1675 the wardens of the Lady Chapel, who also directed the new brotherhood, organized meditations for every Saturday in Lent, led by Father Blankenbergh, Prior of Antwerp's Beggaarden, Franciscan brothers of the third order.¹⁷ These prayers continued in the chapel until 1719 when their popularity overwhelmed the narrow confines and forced the crowd out into the nave of St. Jacob's, around the pulpit, where the meditations were preached. Quarrels over who could collect money after the services indicate that these exercises also produced significant income well into the 18th century.¹⁸ Prints and booklets disseminated the image of "The Sorrowful Mother", and continued to identify her with both consolation of the oppressed and prayers on the five wounds of Christ, expanding the base of devotion (fig. 6.3).¹⁹ She was so popular that probably by 1713, certainly no later than 1729, she replaced Fruytiers' *Assumption* on the chapel altar, only to be supplanted in turn, late in the 19th century, by a more conventional, less sober miraculous image of the Virgin.²⁰

Mary in gentler and more approachable aspects was abundantly present in the Lady Chapel from the start. A smaller side altar was decorated by a picture of *The Virgin in a Flower Garland*; a polychrome *Virgin of the Seven Sorrows* was carved and acquired in 1639; a smaller silvered image repeated the same

14 Cited by Van Lierus in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 464, and in Bylage 72.

15 *Kort Begryp* 1774, 10.

16 RAAKASJA B.53, Lijst der leden van het broederschap van de bedrukte moeder en 2 memorien over het maken van een vaen en een troon. 1674–1786.

17 See RAAKASJA B.52/4/9, for foundation of the meditations; Prims 1977–1985, VI-B, 514–517, on the Beggaarden.

18 RAAKASJA B.52/4/3.

19 See for example Antwerp Ruusbroec Genootschap, Devotional Prints, Antwerp, A. Parochiekerken, engraving, 16.5 × 13.9 cm., with image on left and a "Miraculous Prayer to the Sorrowful Mother" on the right, offering 100 days indulgence from Pope Benedict XIII, 1724–1730; *Kort Begryp* 1774, 9, copy in Erfgoed Bibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp F85530., with a fine, hand-colored engraving.

20 See Van Lierus in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 499.



FIGURE 6.3 *Kort Begryp* 1774, 9: *Sorrowful Mother*, hand-colored engraving.

ERFGOED BIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE, ANTWERP F85530. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

theme; two polychrome wooden figures of Mary standing, cradling the child in her arms, were displayed near the collection box; a Mary of silver was wrought in 1602.²¹ These diverse images apparently have been lost.

21 RAAKASJA B.27, "grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock", 53: "Een Marie belt geschildert in een cransken van blommen dienende voor het cleyn autarken"; 63: "Een houten Mariebelt, vande seven Weeden, wier geschildert synde daertoe een pedestael, dit voors Maeribelt is gemaectt ao.1639. Quit. gecoteert 6.30. Een ander cleyn houter Mariebeldeken, oock vande seven weeden versilvert"; 69: "Een Maeribeldeken met het kindeken op den arm afgesedt met diversche coleuren, wort gebruyckt op de gemeyn daegen int becken. Een Maeribeldeken met het kindeken op den arme gesneden van palem houdt, diende int becken op besondere daegen"; 95: "Een silvere Mariebelt d'welck somtyden wort gebruyckt int becken, weeght in silver sonder pedestael 23-10, gemaectt ao.1602 quitantie gecot. 7 no. 4".

But the most beautiful of all, Matthys van Beveren's *Mater dolorosa*, does survive, carved in white stone, and set against the middle pillar that separates the Lady Chapel from the north ambulatory (fig. 6.4). The inscription declares that it was erected in 1665 over the epitaph of Jaspas Boest who had been choirmaster at St. Jacob's, and then at the Cathedral. The first words of the hymn—"Stabat mater dolorosa/ Iuxta crucem lacrimosa/ Dum pendebat filius"—identify exactly what the image represents and link it to the cult of the "Sorrowful Virgin" in the Lady Chapel where Boest could have composed and led singing of the Stabat Mater that began in the Lenten meditations of 1650.²² Van Beveren here established a new type of gracious Virgin, more attenuated in proportion, composed of gently intertwining curves, ornamented with deeply cut, elegantly flowing ribbons of drapery, that could be mistaken for "proto-rococo," but actually looks back to the "belles vierges" and "schöne Madonnas" of late-medieval design.

Even though it served as a private memorial, Van Beveren's *Mater dolorosa* fitted in, visually and thematically. Jan-Pieter van Bourscheit the Elder's 1708 *Ecce homo*, set against the adjacent pillar to the right, was designed to match her as one of a pair (fig. 6.5; fig. 6.6). The inscription below this suffering Christ asks mercy for the Van Borckhove family whose graves the sculpture commemorates. Sorrowing Virgin and suffering Christ go together, adjoined to the Lady Chapel where masses were celebrated for these dead. The two images face outwards from the chapel and they do not intrude on the unity of the interior space.²³

22 The attribution is not based on any documents and was made first by De Wit 1910, 38–39: "In den Ommeganck naest het Norden ontrent de Capelle van Ons L: V: staet een Mater Dolorosa, met twee Engeltjens; deze is van de beste figuren door de Beltsnyder Van Beveren oyt gemaect"; picked up in guidebooks, confirmed in the manuscript RAAKASJA 2642, *Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. In fo. Tafel (latest date of monument recorded 1770), 37: "columnae mediae sacelli D. Virginis versus ambitum affixa visitur statua matrem dolorosam exhibens stipata duobus parvulis maiorem quoque suum lacrijmando testantibus. in ea manus sculptoris van Beveren dolores Virginis tam artificiose et ad vivum expressit, ut elegantius quidquam videri nequeat, nec ab autore melius prodiisse noscatur", and since repeated, forming one of the touchstones of attributions to Van Beveren, for example Bussers 1989, 311.

23 RAAKASJA 2642, *Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. In fo. (latest date of monument recorded 1770), 35: inscription on column below "statua Christi patientis et ante crucem manibus ligatis tantis haec in marmore: D.O.M./ sepulture/ van Henricus van Borckhoven/ ende sijne huijsvrouw Maria/ Pemans ende haarlieden Dochters/ Heere/



FIGURE 6.4 *Matthys van Beveren. Mater dolorosa. 1665.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 6.5 *Mater Dolorosa and Ecce homo together, figs. 6.4 and 6.6.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

The remaining monumental epitaph sculptures, whatever their merits as works of art, did not agree so easily with their surroundings in the Lady Chapel. A gentle St. Joseph holding the Christ child and lilies, symbolizing his chastity, stands on the other side of the same pillar, back to back with the *Mater dolorosa*, facing into the chapel. The inscription, carved on a burning heart of Jesus, beseeches the saint to pray for the “poor sinner [a woman] who lies buried here, so that my soul is carried to heaven through your intercession.”²⁴ (fig. 6.7) Erected opposite the St. Joseph on the central pillar of the chapel and directly in front of the altar, Ludovicus Willemsens’ *St. John the Baptist*, could not be

Jesus sijt hun sielen genadich/ van die hier liggen begraven/ op dat dij door u bitter passie/ inder eeuwigheijt u/ mogen behagen.” RAAKASJA B.27, “grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock”, begun as an ongoing inventory of chapel ornaments, 375, 1758 list of masses for which the Lady Chapel is responsible, including for Clara van Borckhoven, her four sisters, and parents, “when the lamp must be lighted in front of the Ecce homo.”

- 24 Inscription at base: D.O.M./ H. IOSEPH BIDT VOOR Mÿ ARME SONDAERS DIE/HIER LIGHT BEGRAVEN/ OPDAT MÿN SIELE DOOR/ U VOOR BIDDEN/ WORDT IN DEN HEMEL/ GEDRAGHEN/ R.I.P. Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 495, dismisses the artistic value of the work, but then attributes it, unconvincingly, to Artus Quellinus the Elder.



FIGURE 6.6 *Jan-Pieter van Bayerscheit the Elder. Ecce homo. 1708.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

FIGURE 6.7 *St. Joseph in the Our Lady Chapel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 6.8 *Ludovicus Willemsens. St. John the Baptist.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 6.9 *Peeters family corner in the Lady Chapel with pew on left and epitaph monument of Michiel Peeters on the east wall.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

more obtrusive. The “voice crying out in the wilderness” (Mark 1: 3) declaims dramatically. He preaches repentance and prepares the way for Christ. John is framed against a stage filled with props shaped from plaster painted black; a tree, drapery, stile, and base. The inscription below commemorates the physician Joannes Buyten (d. 1685), but did not strengthen the chapel’s cult of Mary.²⁵ (fig. 6.8) Buyten likely obtained this prominent location through the influence of his wife Anna de Clerck, daughter of financier Hendrick de Clerck, who was instrumental in completing the Lady Chapel.

Through a similar exchange the Peeters family in 1676 bought the whole northeast corner of the chapel (fig. 6.9). Here Eduardus Peeters paid for the expansion, located his crypt, set his tombstone, built a pew reserved for the family, and founded a Saturday mass with doles of bread for the poor.²⁶ Finally,

25 The artist is not documented. Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 494, makes the plausible attribution to Willemssens.

26 RAAKASJA B.27, “grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock”, begun as an ongoing inventory of chapel ornaments; Aug. 24, 1676, Eduardo Peeters promises to donate 2,000 guilders for expansion



FIGURE 6.10 *Tombstone of Eduardus Peeters below and epitaph monument of Michiel Peeters above.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

in 1701 Michiel Peeters, apparently on the bishop's order, and against the will of the chapel wardens, erected his own sepulchral monument. On the earlier tombstone Death triumphantly commands prayers for Eduardus Peeters whom he has cut down with his scythe. But on the monument to Michiel directly above the older tombstone, Eternity rises as if in answer, like a body resurrected from the grave. (fig. 6.10) Carved by Michiel van der Voort in white against a black marble ground of what looks like funerary cloth, this personification rests her right hand on the closed circle of eternity, and supports her left arm on a globe, symbolizing the vale of earthly tears she leaves behind for the joys of heaven to which she lifts her eyes (fig. 6.11).

In his signature Van der Voort proudly claimed the invention and execution of his first masterpiece, one of the key works in the history of 18th-century Flemish sculpture. The cool style glancing back at François Duquesnoy, visible in the clear outlines, incisively chiseled folds of drapery, ancient Roman and Greek types of beauty, smooth modeling that never quite replaces marble with the illusion of flesh, geometric underpinnings of spherical globe, circle, and rectangular base—effectively conveys a new, intellectualized, poetic concept of death, that rejects the threat of the Grim Reaper below. The uplifted, beatified face of Eternity responds to the promise of salvation offered in the luminous stained glass windows above her.²⁷

Unlike the late 17th-century epitaph monuments that commemorate donors while they ignore the chapel's dedication to the Virgin, the earlier stained glass windows depict a narrative of Mary's life in the history of salvation. Barbara Stalins commissioned *The Annunciation* in 1629 (probably from Jan de Labaer) to commemorate her first husband, merchant Jan Baptist Grassis, and also her second husband, Guillaume Anthony.²⁸ (fig. 6.12) Although all three of their coats of arms are emblazoned in the bottom register, it is Mary's initials that take pride of place on the front of a sepulchral monument flanked by two sculpture-like angels. In the Annunciation above, a handsome Gabriel, a glory

of chapel and gets in return a burial crypt, his coat of arms in the vault, and that "hij inden hoeck vant selve nieuw werck sal vermogen te stellen een sitzplaetse tot gerieff van hem ende sijne familie." Also, that a mass with ornaments and light will be celebrated each Saturday at 11:30; RAAKASJA 1751, rekeningen der Fundatie van Eduardus Peeters. 1683–1794: Memorandum date June 28, 1683, lists eight recipients of the dole.

27 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 503; chapel account of 1700–1701, transcribed by Van Lerijs: "Den 4 meert 1701 ontfangen van menheer Peeters, voor setten van een sepulture in de Cappel, hordene van den buskop 60–01."

28 See Baetens I, 159, on Grassis, a leading merchant.



FIGURE 6.11 *Michiel van der Voort the Elder. Monument of Michiel Peeters.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

of angels around the descending Holy Spirit, noble architecture, and the ornate lectern exalt the humbly regal Virgin at her prayers.

Mary again stands at the center in *The Visitation*, the next major event in the traditional narrative of her life, displayed in the window that faces perpendicular and catty-corner to *The Annunciation* (fig. 6.13). Jan de Labaer, who produced this work between 1641 and 1643, expressively developed Rubens's invention of the story. Joseph, entering at bottom left, doffs his purple cap and bows in reverence as he indicates the moment of mutual recognition between Mary, Elizabeth, and the divine children they carry in their wombs (Luke 1:39–45). The donor, merchant Alexander Vincx, kneeling piously below with rosary beads in one hand and a prayer book in the other, states clearly through the inscription at the bottom that he has erected the window for the



FIGURE 6.12
Jan de Labaer? Window of Barbara Stalins.
 KIK X046722.

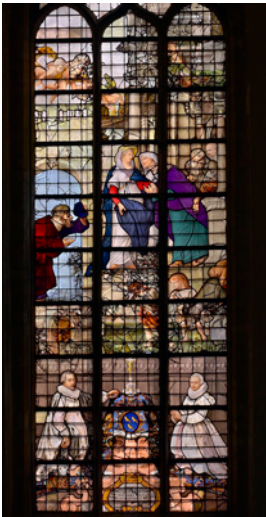


FIGURE 6.13
Jan de Labaer Visitation.
 KIK Z003694.

glory of Christ and Mary, and in memory of his wife Gertruyt Wiegers, who had died in 1638 but kneels here in eternal prayer (fig. 6.15).

Unlike the windows of *The Annunciation* and *The Visitation*, in which personal commemoration gave pride of place to the glorification of Mary, the third large window of the Lady Chapel, installed 1662 on the north side, was decorated with nothing more than the coats of arms of the aristocrats who donated it, city pensionary Christiaan van Brouckhoven and his wife



FIGURE 6.14 *Annunciation and Visitation windows together.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Dorothea de Berti.²⁹ Although this may have asserted noble disregard for the communal dedication of the chapel to Mary, it also participated in a larger trend that started during the 1660s to install clear instead of stained glass windows (see above, chapter 1, for analysis of this change). Ironically, while the other two windows in the Lady Chapel were spared, presumably for the sake of their art, the anti-aristocratic French Republic in 1796 destroyed Van Brouckhoven's glass precisely because it contained nothing more than a display of noble status.³⁰

6.2 Conclusion

Starting in 1624, the Lady Chapel closed itself off with a high fence, similar to the wood and brass enclosure of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel (see above,

²⁹ Timmermans 2006, 300.

³⁰ Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 517, attacks this window for having displayed only coats of arms in a consecrated building.



FIGURE 6.15 *Detail of donor portraits in fig. 6.13.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

fig. 2.6).³¹ Inscriptions identified who donated each brass column. The same parish network of Portuguese banker-merchants, who financed so much construction and ornamentation in St. Jacob's during the first three decades of the 17th century, dominated here as well. They were joined by artists Peter Paul Rubens and Hendrik van Balen whose paintings mark their graves in other parts of the church, and by families of the Antwerp aristocracy.

However, the Lady Chapel also fitted as a piece into the larger plan of Antwerp's Counter Reformation. The black and white marble cenotaph commemorating Jan de Gaverelle, carved by Artus Quellinus the Younger and mounted on the chapel's north wall, signals that wider connection (fig. 6.16). Ambrosius Capello, bishop of Antwerp, ordered its installation in 1664, almost

31 Baisier 2008, I, 145–146, Inv.59; RAAKASJA B.27, “grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock”, begun as an ongoing inventory of chapel ornaments, 340, 1624 receipts for brass columns, 1625 receipts for joinery work on the new “tuyt”; 105, records fourteen brass candlesticks on the two “voorste tuyten” indicating two sections, each of seven columns; Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 488, copied J.B. van der Straelen's transcriptions of donor inscriptions on the brass columns. The fence was torn down in 1807.

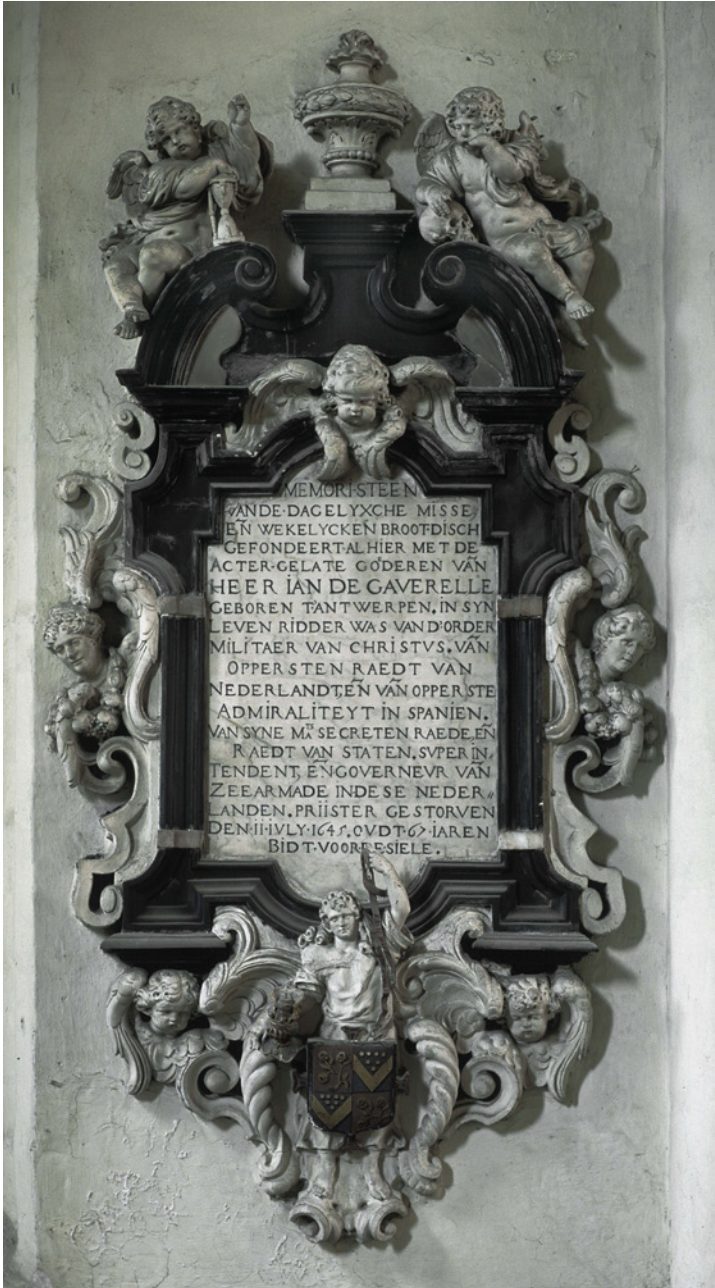


FIGURE 6.16 *Cenotaph of Jan de Gaverelle. 1664.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

twenty years after De Gaverelle's death, to acknowledge his part in the restoration of Catholic and Spanish power. Advisor to the Archduke Albert, governor of the Armada in the Netherlands, secretary and pensionary of the Antwerp Magistracy, De Gaverelle's actions united politics and religion. With one hand, he developed plans for the "societas christianae defensionsis," an international network to bankroll Catholic military forces. De Gaverelle in the 1620s also tried to provoke the enemy Dutch Republic into civil war by fanning the discord that had set the Calvinist Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant factions against each other during Holland's political crisis of faith. With the other hand he financed construction and decoration of Antwerp's churches to strengthen the symbolic presence of Catholicism in the city. In the Antwerp Carmelite Church's magnificent new chapel dedicated to the Virgin which he built to house his own tomb, De Gaverelle established a precedent for private patronage followed by other wealthy Antwerp families. He created there a new center to exalt the cult of Mary. At the same time, he gave his own money and arranged the larger scale finances to complete both Antwerp Cathedral and St. Jacob's.³² Like two other benefactors of St. Jacob's, Cornelis van Dalem before him and Henricus Hillwerf after, De Gaverelle acted on his Catholic faith when he was ordained as a priest in 1644, the year before his death.

His cenotaph in the Lady Chapel celebrates these accomplishments, but the inscription states first that it is a "Memory Stone of the daily mass and weekly dole founded here" by De Gaverelle. Prompting observance of a legacy, the cenotaph integrated memorial decoration with the liturgy of the mass, the gradual development of a citywide system of poor relief administered through local churches, and the claim to aristocracy implied in lavish donations to churches that effected social change in Antwerp during the 17th century. His vividly blazoned coat of arms and the virtue of Temperance, symbolized by a bridle held aloft, reinforce in visual signs De Gaverelle's noble status, fully documented by the inscription above.

Along with De Gaverelle, other parishioners founded "Saturday masses" in the Lady Chapel, their names engraved on a brass plate to make sure that their souls would reap the benefits for years to come.³³ But these legacies never

32 Lawrence 1981, 276, no. 102; Bussers 1989, 300, maintain the attribution to Quellinus. Capello's order is reported in RAAKASJA 57, f.204r–f.205r.; RAAKASJA (old number 560), 512–514. For De Gaverelle's biography see Prims 1946 and Van Durme in *NBW*, IV, 347–359. On the precedent-setting importance of De Gaverelle's donations see Timmermans 2006, 268.

33 RAAKASJA B.27, "grooten boeck oft Clappeye vande Capelle, begonst in September ao.1645 door Confrere Adriaen de Cock", 393: 1777, 100 guilders foundation by Jouffr.

brought the steady income that kept the Blessed Sacrament Chapel solvent even during economic crisis and the Lady Chapel remained vulnerable to outside pressure. In 1705 the Lady Chapel's wardens, "because so little had been collected during the chapel's services, on account of these miserable times," petitioned Antwerp's bishop for permission to display the consecrated host, a privilege reserved for the Sacrament Chapel, that they hoped would increase attendance and support.³⁴ That need also may have impelled the chapel a few years later to replace Fruytiers' *Assumption* altarpiece with *The Virgin of Sorrows* who had proven so popular, attracting crowds too big for the enclosed space.

Even though Fruytiers' altarpiece disappeared, Pieter Thys's fine picture of *The Assumption*, set into the austere black marble frame of the Muntsaert family's epitaph monument, keeps alive the memory of the chapel's original dedication to the Virgin of the Assumption, since the painting faces directly into the chapel from against the west transept wall (fig. 6.17).³⁵ Through this picture and the stained glass windows in the north transept clerestory above, the Lady Chapel, like the Sacrament Chapel on the south, extended its sphere of influence into the adjacent space. When the colored light from these windows falls on the picture, the vision of Mary's assumption comes to life.

Unlike the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, no dominant personality or unified vision ever created a harmonious, cohesive design in the Lady Chapel (fig. 6.18). Instead the interests of wealthy individual donors prevailed, raising a graveyard of separate commemorative monuments, isolated masterpieces that were permitted in exchange for lavish contributions to the needy chapel.

De weduwe de Clanger, whose name was to be engraved "op de copere plate inde cathaloge hangende in dese capelle;" 395; 1778, foundation by Franciscus Ignatus Wittebel for 100 guilders, his name "te laeten graveren op de copere plaete van de saterdaghsche intentie in dese Capelle".

34 FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 44–45.

35 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. In fo., latest date of monument recorded 1770, 77: in region of Lady Chapel in transept above door to the churchwardens chamber: "conspicitur tabula eiusdem B.M.V. assumptionem exhibens cum hac inscriptione: P/DOM/Familiae/Muntsaert/RIP."



FIGURE 6.17 *Pieter Thys. Assumption of the Virgin.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 6.18 *View of the Lady Chapel.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

St. Jacob's New Collegiate Chapter of Canons and Their Choir

7.1 Introduction

In 1656 Ambrosius Capello, bishop of Antwerp, warned of the crisis that threatened St. Jacob's. The city's largest and finest church after the Cathedral, and with the most parishioners, could not meet its debts because of high construction costs (for the Rubens Chapel) and declining gifts in hard times. Divine services, celebrated there "since time immemorial," had declined and might stop entirely (see above, chapter 3, for an account of this crisis). The best remedy, said the bishop, was to found a new college of canons who would chant the hours, strengthen the position of the whole church, and add to its luster.¹ His confidence in this solution was justified. Founding a chapter of canons at that time went against the developing consensus of Catholic opinion. But that decision successfully tied St. Jacob's to the families among its wealthy parishioners who aspired to social distinction. One result was to transform the choir of the church into a magnificent inner sanctum that remains today the best preserved example in the Netherlands of a distinct kind of ecclesiastical space.

1 FAA K 315: Ambrosius Capello, bishop of Antwerp, December 15, 1656, approval of the erection of the chapter in St. Jacob's: "... aen ons van weghens de kerckmeesters der parochiaele kercke van St. Jacobs binnen dese stadt, is verhoont hoe inde selve kercke (wesende ten opsichte van magnificentie ende groote des Bouws, als oock vande menichte der prochianten de eerste ende principaelste naer de Cathedraele) de Goddelycke, ende andere diensten aldaer van immemoriale tyden gewoon synde gescheden. Nu onlanx door het verminderen vanden offer ende beswaernisse der fabricque mits den Bouw soodanichlyck hebben beginnen te verslappen, dat de selve van nu aff ten deele syn geschorst, ende vervolgghens staen, om geheelck naer gelaeten te moeten werden, ten sy daer tegens behulp middelen werden verdacht, ende cortelincx de remedien int werck gestelt suggerende tot dyser eynde als den bequaemsten middel, ende meest streeckende tot luystere & voordeel vande voorschreven parochiaele kercke..."

7.2 The Unique Status of St. Jacob's Collegiate Chapter of Canons

On May 21, 1657, five months after he approved its foundation, bishop Capello presided over the installation of St. Jacob's new chapter of canons.² It was a remarkable event, given that most chapters were vestiges of the late-Middle Ages.³ By the 17th century, reformers, in support of the Council of Trent, viewed collegiate chapters as entrenched institutions concerned only with protecting their own privileges and power.⁴ This held true especially in the Netherlands, where Philip II's reorganization of the bishoprics in 1559, intended to strengthen the administrative structure of the Catholic Church, dislodged the chapters of canons from their dominant positions at the top of the secular clergy. Antwerp's first bishops fought long and hard to establish their authority over what became, after 1559, the Cathedral Chapter. The Jesuits in Antwerp ridiculed canons as statues with mouths who could not talk and sat hidden in their choirs.⁵ Why then would the bishop want to found a new college of these useless men who undermined his efforts?

The answer comes first out of the principal duty performed by colleges of canons. Their purpose was to chant the canonical hours. Capello approved its foundation because above all St. Jacob's chapter would assure the proper celebration there of the divine offices.⁶ Devoting themselves to the praise of God, canons were like angels on earth, David singing psalms, or the twenty-four elders of the *Revelation* (5: 8–10) worshipping the lamb, at least if the canons learned plain chant and attended services, as was expected.⁷ In Antwerp during the late 1650s this chorus for the constant praise of God supplied an espe-

2 RAAKASJA Old Number 181/17: placard posted May 20, 1657.

3 In Pasture 1925, 5–50, and Pasture 1926, 5–69, all chapters extant in the Spanish Netherlands during the reign of the Archdukes had been founded earlier.

4 Loupès 1985, 15; Rauch 1976, 271, 275–278.

5 Marinus 1995, 103–119; Lottin 1984, 75 and 80.

6 See above, n.1.

7 Loupès 1985, 57 and 263; *Erectio* 1705, 5: holders of prebends in the chapter are to live an honorable life, be of good fame, dress appropriately in religious habit, and gain experience in church song (“Kerkelycken sanck”) during their first year of residence. We learn what kind of song was meant when we read that only a priest capable of plain-chant could substitute for one of the canons in the divine offices: 10: “eenen eerlycken Priester die synen simplen sanck sal connen.” Indeed, each canon was assigned an adjutant chaplain expert in music, with sonorous voice, to keep harmony in the choir on Sundays and feast days, and the anniversary mass for J. de Weerden, celebrated on Dec. 1, 1665, was sung in “cantu gregorian”: RAAKASJA 2797, *Actorum Capituli Liber* 1, 1656–1675, 34 for chaplains, 257 for Gregorian chant.

cially valuable resource that could help to quiet the divine wrath manifested through plague then ravaging the city. The chapter sprang up like the chapels dedicated to plague saints, Roch and Carlo Borromeo, built and decorated in St. Jacob's at the same time, paid for by the same donors who founded benefices and choir stalls for the canons.⁸ But the project actually dated back to decades earlier.

In 1628 a select group of six men, representing the Cathedral Chapter, the city Magistracy, and the parish's merchant elite, first proposed foundation of a collegiate chapter in St. Jacob's.⁹ Three among them, Nicolaas Rockox, former burgomaster, Jan de Gaverelle, city pensionary, and Aubertus Miraeus, dean of the Cathedral Chapter, worked to implement Antwerp's Counter Reformation on different fronts. A new chapter for St. Jacob's therefore fitted into the larger strategy to strengthen Catholic institutions in the city.¹⁰ Each of the six supported his conviction with the pledge to donate a prebend, and together they obtained approval from the highest authority in the land, the Archduchess Isabella, who wrote to the bishop on behalf of their cause.¹¹ Despite this powerful alliance of interests, the larger body of the Cathedral Chapter, jealous of its rights, blocked the plan in 1628, and again, ten years later, in 1638.¹² At that time new donors who stepped forward, raised the number of prebends to

8 The heirs of Jacobus Antonius Carena, who built the Borromeo Chapel in 1656, founded a prebend (see below, chapter 8); the Roelants family that gained control of the St. Roch Chapel in 1657, donated a choir stall (see below, chapter 8).

9 RAAKASJA 2743: title page: Poogingen aengewend in 1628, tot opreting van een Kapittel binnen gezegde kerk. Kopy van een Handschrift voortkomende van de Kapittel Cathedrael deser Stad. f.1r: Anno Domini 1628, adspirante Deo, Venerabilis admodum Dominus Aubertus Miraeus, Bruxellensis, Decanus ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Mariae Antverpiae, nec non Vicarius generalis, R.D. Dingens, eiusdem ecclesiae thesaurarius, Illustrus et Amplissimus Dominus Gaverelles, D. Roccox Consul olim Antverpiae, D. Martinus a Ginderdeuren mercator, d. Vekemans, unanimi concordia et resolutione ad maiorem Dei gloriam, S. Jacobi honorem et eiusdem ecclesiae exaltationem, conceperunt singuli singulas fundare praebendas, quibus collegium erigeretur canonicorum in ecclesia Sti Jacobi Antverpiae. post itaque annos decem per D. Ant. Piperem Pastorem S. Jacobi qui iudicabat pias voluntates praeclarorum et fundationes sanctas ad Dei cultum [f.1v.] tendentes, et ecclesiae elevationem emori non debere, rursum RR. DD. fundatores ad consummandum opus conceptum animos provocavit."

10 See chapters 3 and 6 for the efforts of Rockox and De Gaverelle in St. Jacob's and elsewhere; see De Clercq in *NBW*, IX, 535–537, on Miraeus.

11 *Erectio* 1705, 12.

12 RAAKASJA 2743, f.1r: "Interim intercidit remora eo quod conditiones aliquae proponerentur capitulo cathedralis ecclesiae cuius erat in hanc capituli erectionem condescendere et consentire quibus se gravatem sentiret."

eleven. They included merchants and nobles who had contributed generously in the previous years to building the transepts and choir of St. Jacob's, and who stood at the center in a parish network that guided the completion of their church.¹³ But the project for a new chapter was realized only in 1656 when the conjuncture of plague and economic crisis threatened to bankrupt St. Jacob's and shut it down.

At that point a new coalition formed to donate prebends.¹⁴ The bishop himself, Ambrosius Capello, pledged the first, reserved for the current pastor of St. Jacob's. It is no accident that Franciscus van den Bossche, pastor at that time, also was appointed dean of the chapter, in recognition of his political, administrative, and pastoral skills. His vital importance to St. Jacob's, embodying the new ideal of seminary-trained Counter Reformation priests, already has been emphasized (see above, chapter 1) and it carried over into the erection of the chapter.

By 1703 St. Jacob's college had expanded to twenty-two canons. The founders of these prebends shared two features that defined the character of the new institution. First, at least ten donors belonged to the nobility, and the rest formed part of the wealthy merchant class who aspired to that status.¹⁵ Second, twelve of the prebends were occupied at some point by either the donor or a member of the family.¹⁶ This privilege went hand in hand with the so-called lay

13 RAAKASJA 2743, f.5r, for a list of prospective donors, including the Spanish merchant Alonso Carillo, magistrate and merchant Hendrick de Clerck, and Portuguese banker Francisco Lopez Franco. Carillo and Franco already had built family chapels in the ambulatory and De Clerck contributed importantly to completing the Lady Chapel and east end of St. Jacob's. Also, RAAKASJA 2797, 1656–1675: *Actorum Capituli Liber* 1, p. 3, where Abrahamus Meÿs Presbÿter and Joannes Appels are included in the list of willing founders.

14 *Erectio* 1705, 11.

15 FAA K316: *Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuoris Anni 1746*: 24–72: “de 22. præbendis canonicalibus, quæ hactenus fundatæ et dotatæ sunt.” In the order given, the following prebends were donated by nobles: 2. Rockox; 7. Carennna; 10. Bollaert; 12. Van Horenbeeck; 13. Lopes Franco y Feo; 14. Hillewerve; 17. Vequemans; 20. Della Faille; 21. De Clerck; 22. De Clerck.

16 FAA K316: *Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuoris Anni 1746*: 24–72: “de 22. præbendis canonicalibus, quæ hactenus fundatæ et dotatæ sunt.” In the order given, the following prebends were occupied by the founder or a member of the family: 4. Ter Linden; 6. Van Tichelt; 7. Carennna; 8. Huart; 9. Mendez; 11. De Lannoy; 12. Van Horenbeeck; 16. De Backer-Vinck; 17. Vequemans; 18. Brughmans-Janssens; 19. Borrekens-Chretien; 20. Della Faille.

patronage that gave founders and their heirs the legal right to nominate a suitable candidate to fill the prebend whenever it fell vacant.¹⁷ The gift was in fact a long-term family investment that bought membership into an exclusive club. An accelerated process of ennoblement changed the social fabric of the city during the late 17th and early 18th centuries and consequently generated the demand for positions of aristocratic distinction that could support the sons of the nobility. These conditions assured the chapter's long-term growth.

It was precisely the class of merchants in St. Jacob's parish who were drawn into this process, because so many of them had depended on trade with the Iberian Peninsula that now dried up. Land and bonds offered the new opportunities for investment that brought with them the trappings of nobility.¹⁸ The general crisis that threatened St. Jacob's very existence during the late 1650s (see above, chapter 3) thus opened the way for Antwerp's aristocracy to found a new institution that would strengthen their position in the city.

7.3 The New Collegiate Chapter in St. Jacob's Choir

The chapter quickly transformed the lofty and expansive choir, vaulted in 1642, that had been decorated half a century earlier with ornaments designed for a smaller space (see above, chapter 2). Building the new choir stalls effected the most decisive change that reconfigured the choir to meet the practical and symbolic needs of the canons. Starting in 1658 they replaced the old wooden choir benches that city treasurer Joannes Baptista Batkins condemned as "undignified" (fig. 7.1). Batkins, who donated the first stall, set an example followed by Antwerp's Magistracy, the Abbey of St. Michiel, along with nobles and merchants, who demonstrated support throughout the city and in the parish.¹⁹ By 1670 twenty-eight benefactors had paid for the thirty-six stalls that

17 *Erectio* 1705, 7: "'t Patronaetschap Laicum, ofte recht van te presenteren een bequaem persoon soo dickmaels soodanige prebenden sullen comen te vaceren."

18 Degryse 1995, 35–50.

19 RAAKASJA 2797, 1656–1675: *Actorum Capituli Liber* 1, 96: 1658: "huc usque canonico-
rum in choro sedilia, schamna fuerunt, quod indignum ratus dominus Joannes Baptista
Batkin urbis Thesaurarius, vir æque religionis ac probitatus amans, novarum sedium
Canonicalium fundamenta jecit, primam gratis nec rogatus offerendo. Secundum ac
tertiam superaddidit senatorum urbis, munificentia." Other donors: Maria van der Goes,
widow of Jacob Roelants, knight, and prefect of the Royal Post; Alexander Balthasar
Roelants, Lord of Eenthaut and Royal Postmaster; Ferdinand D'Ÿllan, Lord of Bornewal;
Francisco Barraca; Ambrosius Aynescam.



FIGURE 7.1 *Choir stalls from east to west.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

still enclose the west half of the choir on three sides.²⁰ The contract instructed Octavio Henry, the joiner who coordinated the whole project, to build each

20 RAAKASJA 969, extension of contract from 1658, signed and dated Dec. 11, 1664. List of contributors with gifts of 150 guilders unless another figure is given: city of Antwerp, 330; Ambrosius Aÿnscombe, merchant; Ferdinandus d'yllan, Lord of Bornewal; Joannes Baptista Batkin, treasurer of the city; Petrus and Philippus Helman, brothers; Lord Henricus Hillewerf, Priest; Lord Francisus Barrola Portuguese; The Worthy Lord, My Lord Norbertus Couweren, abbot of S. Michiels Abbey; Maria Anna Vandergoes, widow of Jacobus Roelants, postmaster, 300; Joannes Butteler, Englishman and merchant; Miss Margarita vanden Bergen, widow of late Jacobus van Hulst; Jacobus van Eyck, former alderman (schepen) of the city; Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, 300; Philippus Rubens, secretary of the city; Macarius Simeomo, abbot of St. Michiels and successor of Norbertus van Couweren; Joannes Losson, merchant; Joannes Benedictus Engels and Miss Catharina Losson in the week they married; Miss Susanna Wellens; Georgius Shaw Englishman and merchant; Antonius de Castro Lopez, Portuguese merchant; Sr. Guilielmus Tielemans secretary of Hoboken; Miss Blois, widow of the late Sr. Carolus Batkin, 48; Franciscus van den Bossche, pastor of St. Jacob's and dean of the chapter; Pedro Andrea Martini; Elisabeth Collaert, spiritual daughter; Gabriel Dyck, canon of the church; anonymous

stall with an upper and lower seat, two rows in the long run, that fixed an obvious hierarchy separating the canons above from the assisting chaplains and singers below. As a finishing touch the donors' coats of arms, "curiously" painted on the cartouches over the upper seats, accentuated the noble status of the institution and its founders.²¹

Henry and his sculptors combined in their work a series of innovations that decisively influenced the whole following generation of choir stalls throughout the South Netherlands.²² Here for the first time, the architectural design unified the space through the uninterrupted, strong visual line of its entablature, capped by a sharply angled, projecting cornice, a continuous ornamental frieze, and heavy architrave (fig. 7.2). Deeply carved spiraling and curving elements animate the weighty volumes. Innovation also enters into the profuse variety of motifs that revives late-medieval fantasy in the decoration of choir stalls, especially in the carvings of the misericords (fig. 7.3).²³ In many cases the animals and angels winding around the Solomonic columns convey symbolic meaning as well. Putti angels hold garlands of Eucharistic wheat and grapes, a death's head capital proclaims the vanity of human life, the pelican bleeding to feed his young becomes the type of Christ, and at several places the divine eagle swoops down to destroy an infernal serpent (fig. 7.4; fig. 7.5; fig. 7.6).²⁴

Octavio Henry also fashioned two cantors' chairs and a lectern. These draw a border between the area of the choir stalls and the high altar. The chairs focused attention on the chapter's canon who sang the Gospel, "when he has come to read it in the middle of the choir, where it is usual to read, having

married couple. Pohl 1977, 356, notes in particular the important contribution made by Portuguese merchants to the project.

- 21 RAAKASJA 968, Contract over het maeken van de Canonicaele gestoelten in de choir di Anno 1658, 22 gber. The coats of arms presumably were destroyed during the occupation of the French Republic which banned all signs of nobility, and then repainted by J. van Halle during 1842–1844: RAAKASJA (old number) 111/92.
- 22 Gabriels 1930, 206–210, states that St. Jacob's choir stalls open the series of famous stalls in Flemish Baroque style and confidently attributes their design and execution to Artus Quellinus the Elder; Van Herck 1955–1956–1957, 27–29, emphasizes the innovative and exemplary importance of St. Jacob's choir stalls, attributes them to the atelier of Artus Quellinus the Younger, and describes their unified, animated composition.
- 23 Maeterlinck 1940 (329–330), described St. Jacob's choir stalls that lack, however, the barbed wit he found in the misericords of the 15th century.
- 24 The *Physiologus* was decisive in equating the pelican with Christ (thanks to Fiona Healy for the reference: see *Physiologus*, trans. Michael J. Curley, Austin and London, 1979); see R. Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent," in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols, The Collected Essays of Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1977, 31–44, on this motif in Christian symbolism.



FIGURE 7.2 *Northwest section of the choir stalls.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 7.3 *Detail of misericord.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 7.4 *Choir stall detail of angels holding wheat and grapes.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 7.5 *Choir stall detail of death's head.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 7.6 *Choir stall detail of pelican feeding his young.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

genuflected towards the altar, next the canons should make a profound reverence, first from the part of the choir, where the canon performing the office sits, then from the other part.”²⁵ Music-making angels adorn the chairs. The lectern is figured as an angel raising the globe of the world surmounted by an eagle, in an iconography traditional to lecterns that refers to the eagle of St. John the Evangelist who stands here for all the Gospels read.²⁶ Henry promised, when the choir stalls had been built outwards to the middle pier of the choir, to place beautiful lions—eight of them—one at each corner of the moldings above the lower stalls. These evoke the lions on the throne of Solomon [1 Kings, 10: 19].

25 *Cæremoniae spectantes ad Officiū Chori* 1644, 9, under Capvt II. De ordine standi, sedendi, & genuflectendi ab omnibus sub Officiis Horarum: “Cantaturus Lectionem, cū peruenerit ad legile in medio Chori, vbi Lectiones legi solent, genuflectit versus Altare, deinde profundè facit reuerentiam Canonicis, primū à parte Chori, vbi est Canonicus faciens Officiū; deinde ab alter parte.” The chapter of St. Jacob’s was bound to follow the ceremonies observed by the Cathedral Chapter: *Erectio* 1705, 7, under conditions for erection of the new chapter: “Wat aengaet de Getyden, Loff ende andere Godts-Dinsten sullen hun (soo veel als ‘t gevoegelyck is) trachten te conformeren met d’observatie ende manieren der Cathedrale Kercke.”

26 Lempertz 1937.

The canons, seated on their thrones, quickly removed all impediments to the beauty and dignity of the divine offices they celebrated. In 1658, they eliminated the biers and cenotaphs that had cluttered the choir. They intended to unify their sacred precinct by pushing out intrusive funerary monuments, in conformance with the general principle of decoration, announced in Pius v's Bull of 1566, which demanded the elimination of tombs projecting above ground. They also forbade use of white or black liturgical cloths to "preserve the congruous variety of colors" in the weekday services at the high altar.²⁷ A lavish gift of liturgical textiles and priestly vestments, given by Henrica van Duivenvoorde of Wassenaar in the same year, 1658, allowed the chapter the luxury of variety; altar frontals (*antependia*) in red silk, white and green damask with gold fringe, and red velvet, altar cloths and priestly vestments of many colors ornamented the service.²⁸

27 RAAKASJA 2797, 1656–1675: *Actorum Capituli Liber* 1, p. 118: "Ut removerentur a choro divini officii impedimenta, et Altarie congrui coloris varietati serviret, resolverant Captiulares non ultra admittere per hebdomadas Altare summum atro aut candido velamine tegi, nec sandapilas aut cenotaphia in choro subsistere" (So that impediments to the divine offices might be removed from the choir, and to protect the congruous variety of colors of the altar, the chapter has resolved not to admit any longer to the weekly service that the high altar be covered with either a white or black altar cloth, and that biers and cenotaphs no longer remain in the choir). On the elimination of obtrusive funerary monuments, see Petrucci 1998, 86.

28 RAAKASJA 1170, fol.1r: "Inventaris van alle het silverwerck, ende ornamenten ende iege-lycks voordere mobiliere effecten, ende misgewaedt bevonden ende berustende in de sacristye, van het Capittel van de Vermaerde Collegiale ende Parochiale kercke van St. Jacobs binnen dese stadt van Antwerpen, wesende ter dispositie van de Heer Eerw H H: Deken en Canonnicken der selve kercke tot het doen van de Goddelycke diensten in de hooge Choor . . . de date 23 marchi 1709 synde den [fol.1v:] bovenschreven Inventaris begonnen ende voltrocken in april 1709 door den eerw H Anthonius Aegidius Chrestien Canonnick ende Actuaris vant Capittel." f.5v.: "Tweede Classe raekende de Ornamenten van den hoogen autae.1 eene roodt frauweelen (oft cappa) antependium voor onder, oock een voor boven, met gaude canten en fremien . . . vereerd door de Edele Joffrouw Henrica van Duivenvoorde gelyck alle de volgende tot nr 50 inclus. . . . 3 een roodt gare damaste antependium. . . . 5 een roodt saeyette antependium om op wercken dagen te gebruycken." Duivenvoorde's gift was also recorded and inventoried in RAAKASJA 2797 1656–1675: *Actorum Capituli Liber* 1, 106–112; 113: she declares to notary Jacques le Rousseau the nature and content of her gift of vestments and cloths: "begheerende dat allen de selve naer de veranderlyckheyt der feest daghen tot dienst van den voorschreven hooghden choor behoorlyck ende pertinentelyck geimployeert sauden woorden ten eeu-wighen daghen."

The chapter also played its part in enclosing the choir with beautiful fences and a new roodscreen. I already have reported in chapter 3 how the canons started the project of the new roodscreen that was finally completed in 1670 (see above, chapter 3). Two partition walls separate the choir stalls from the south and north sides of the ambulatory. These barriers enabled the canons to chant the hours undisturbed in privacy and protected them from cold drafts.²⁹ The canons also asserted their presence outside, in the ambulatory, with two pairs of confessionals built against the exteriors of these plain walls, adding richness of ornament and stately architectural measure (see above, chapter 4). Canons De Succa and Wolff donated the confessionals only on condition that they would enjoy exclusive rights to hear confessions in them. They insisted on participating in the spiritual life of the parish.

Two far more elegant fences extended the choir enclosure eastwards on each side between the third and fourth piers. Both are equipped with portals that open to permit entry from the ambulatory into the choir. Their design established the pattern for the six smaller sections of fence that completed the circuit around and behind the high altar, creating the effect of a continuous balustrade in small marble columns, with each section crowned by a pediment (fig. 7.7).

The chapter had pushed intrusive funerary monuments out from the center of the choir. But the enclosures provided a new location to display them at the periphery. The entrance fence on the north side, for example, paid for in 1669 by the estate of Elisabeth Fourment, to commemorate “the eternal honor and reputation” of her parents, Daniel Fourment and Clara Stappaert, and also to honor her deceased husband Nicolaes Piqueri, reproduced the design of the section facing opposite, on the south side, erected several years earlier to the memory of Jan van Weerden, burgomaster and treasurer of the city; both fences, the work of sculptor-architect Sebastian van den Eynden (fig. 7.8; fig. 7.9).³⁰ Most often the beautifully ornamented doors of these enclosures

29 It may be that they date from around 1550 when the piers of the choir were built and the Eucharist Chapel was located on the south side in the place it since has occupied under a succession of different configurations. Windows into underlying layers of paint on the wall—opened by Lode De Clercq—demonstrate that the heavy mass of the wall was lightened by decorative patterns—appropriately of grapes and ciboria—until white washing became the norm later in the 17th century. *FAA PK 3198*: E. Dilis, MS history of the Holy Sacrament Chapel, 10, summarizing the 1598–1599 accounts, notes that among other changes, “deed men de Kapel opnieuw schilderen: met loofwerck en vergulde ciborie(n).”

30 *RAAKASJA* 986, Feb. 18, 1669: contract between Joan Battista van Broeckhoven, baron of Bergeyck [second husband of Helena Fourment], executor of the estate of the late Jouff. Elisabeth Fourment; Philip Rubens oudt schepene (former alderman), Guillelmo Linden,



FIGURE 7.7 *View of the circuit of ambulatory fences around the choir.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

remained shut and locked to close off the exclusive precinct of the choir. But the columns of the fences also allowed visitors to witness the rites and ceremonies inside.

7.4 High Altar

Besides chanting the offices of the hours, priests among the canons (who could take lesser orders) also were charged with celebrating mass at the high altar.³¹

Hendrick van Hoorenbeeck, heirs of Elisabeth Fourment; churchwardens of St. Jacob's, Ferdinando Jannsens, Daniel Vernimmen, Balthazar Charles, Jean Peeter Gillis; and Sebastiaen van den Eynden, commissioning the latter to make a tuin (fence) in St. Jacobs on the north side of the choir, like that installed by Jan van Weerden on the south side of the choir also by Van den Eynden, price 1800 guldens from the estate. The fence will be to the eternal honor and reputation of the late Daniel Fourment and Clara Stappaert and will not be altered by the church in any manner. For the choir fence as an assemblage of epitaphs, see Durian-Ress 1975, 245.

³¹ Loupès 1985, 57 and 263.



FIGURE 7.8 *Fourmont-Stappaert-Piqueri fence from inside the choir.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 7.9 *View from the south ambulatory through the Van Weerden fence to the Fourmont-Stappaert-Piqueri fence on the north side of the choir.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

In St. Jacob's, observing the rites according to the Roman Missal, the college served as a chorus to the celebrants, elevating the splendor of the mass through their song and gestures of response.³² Until 1685 the canons observed these ceremonies in front of the altar retable that dated back to 1605 (see above, chapter 2). I already have described how Henricus Hillewerf's donation of a new retable in 1684 completely transformed the choir. This would not have happened without Hillewerf's earlier support for the chapter. Indeed, the desire for prestigious display and for ennoblement that encouraged Hillewerf's generosity also drove the foundation and success of St. Jacob's chapter of canons.

7.5 The Chapter in Its Choir

St. Jacob's choir, from the construction of its piers in 1550 to the completion of its vaults in 1642 (see above, chapter 1), was built on a larger scale than the choirs in Antwerp's three other parish churches. It was conceived from the start as the fitting sanctuary for a chorus of clergy and, at the latest in 1628, for a college of canons who would chant the divine offices. After the founding of the chapter in 1656, the benefices, choir stalls, enclosure fences, and high altar retable fashioned a stage where the interlocking association of elite families could affirm and maintain its positions in the hierarchy of Antwerp society. Through letters, benefices, portraits, and coats of arms, King Philip IV, the Magistracy of Antwerp, the bishop, and the abbot of St. Michiel's Abbey (the heads of the secular and regular clergy) assembled a complete validation of authority, from which the collegiate chapter would derive its unassailable position just beneath the highest level of social order. The families whose coats of arms blazed forth over the choir stalls and whose monuments enclose the choir further enhanced their status by proximity to the high altar, in conformance with the prestige conferred by sacred location in the church. The specific content of the signs—coats of arms and inscriptions—asserted the credentials of honor and nobility that advanced the prominence of the families. And the accumulation of these signs around the choir also represented the gradual expansion of privileges. Power branched out in the parish through intermarriage, for example Fourment, linked by marriage to the Rubens and Piqueri families. All claimed the place in and around the choir.³³ Further, by

32 *Cæremoniæ spectantes ad Officium Chori* 1644, 12–18, Capvt III. De Ordine standi, sedendi, & genuflectendi ab omnibus sub Missa.

33 See Timmermans 2006, 269, on the prevalence of rising merchant families among the patrons of commemorative monuments. See Adams 2005, 92–97, on family strategies.

associating with chapter and choir, elite families consolidated their earlier positions within St. Jacob's, especially the burial chapels to which a benefice might be attached, thus guaranteeing the prayers and masses that would perpetuate memory over generations. Carena, Bollaert, Franco, and Rockox, all linked the benefices they donated to the celebration of masses in their family chapels. The elite character of the parish thus shaped the design of St. Jacob's choir and the choir in turn furnished a symbolic space for the long-term strategies of the leading families who sought to rise in society through prestigious offices and through the commemoration across generations of their attainment to high status.

St. Jacob's thus functioned as a public and religious forum vital to the development of social relationships among Antwerp's elite. Henricus Hillewerpe exemplified this process in the extreme. He climbed to the top of the tightly knit elite through his extraordinary generosity to the church, paying for the new high altar retable as part of a larger campaign of self-validation. It may be that the absence of a male heir encouraged his generosity.³⁴ At the same time that he secured the most sacred and prestigious location inside the church for his burial crypt, Hillewerpe also advertised his possession of St. Jacob's parish's best known residence, Rubens's palatial house, laying claim to the highest position on both counts. Hilliwerpe adapted the Pantheon-like museum, built by Rubens around 1618 for the display of ancient sculpture, to exhibit his own new collection of sacred relics, thus bringing the element of the sacred into his worldly domain, just as he had forsaken commerce for the priesthood. Two engravings by Jacobus Harrewyn, dated 1684 and 1692, publicized this claim to status, illustrating views of what the earlier engraving labels the "Maison Hilwerpe a Anvers dit l'hostel Rubens." Both engravings also bear Hillewerpe's dolphin coat of arms that appears as well on the high altar of St. Jacob's. Hillewerpe combined religious devotion and social ambition in a potent mixture.

7.6 St. Jacob's Magnificence as the Necessary Condition for Its Chapter

St. Jacob's choir furnished the required setting for a new collegiate chapter of canons. Bishop Capello in 1656 listed the "magnificence and size of the building" as one of the main reasons that led him to approve the chapter's foundation. The canons were proudly aware that the magnificence of

34 Timmermans 2006, 270, introduces this motive as an important stimulus to large donations.

St. Jacob's made it their fitting home. When fire threatened the church during the night of celebrations that followed the chapter's inauguration, "merciful God indulgently averted harm from so excellent a structure" which easily could stand comparison with the illustrious amplitude, ornaments, and construction of the Cathedral, and with the splendor of the Jesuit Church made precious by its gold, pictures, and marble. To be preferred over these, especially the choir of St. Jacob's was admired, by strangers and citizens of Antwerp alike, for its "most exquisite, rare, and illustrious elegance, with so lucid and spacious an ambulatory, and surrounded on all sides, as it were, by marble chapels."³⁵

In 1746, eighty years after its erection, one of the canons compiled a manuscript history of the chapter, extracted mostly from the official Acts. He first established the fact of St. Jacob's illustrious beauty that made it the fitting home for a great institution. Old texts were, as the canon put it, usurped to make his point. First he embellished upon the encomium of 1657, which I already have cited. Next, he adapted Carolus Scribani's famous poem in praise of Antwerp, setting St. Jacob's as the most precious jewel in a glorious crown. "Antwerp, the heaven of Belgium/ This church/ The sun of this heaven. Sun, because to the eye surveying its magnificence and splendor it appears as a second, most brilliant sun." The canon's history proper of his chapter is, by contrast, a chronicle of lists. It deepens into descriptions of events and place mostly when it touches on the choir. One learns that the choir always was intended for chanting the canonical hours, was rebuilt more beautiful and splendid in 1602, perfected in 1637, graced in 1685 with the new high altar of finest marble, invented, drawn, and constructed by famous master-sculptor Artus Quellinus the Younger.³⁶

35 RAAKASJA 2797, 1656–1675: *Actorum Capituli Liber I*, p. 81, on the danger of fire: "quod misericors Deus malum clementer avertit, a tam præcellenti structura, Amplitudinem quippe, et praeclarum domus Marianeæ suppelectilem ac fabricam, multi suspiciunt, Ignatianæ vero fabricæ depredicant rarum ab auro, a picturis, a marmore pretium et splendorem, verum tamen exquisitissimam Ecclesiæ Jacobæ elegantiam, tam spatio ac lucido ambitu raram ac præolaram[sic, for præclaram?], ac sacellis marmoreis pene[?pæne] undique cinctam, urbis incolæ, et advene pariter admirantur." My reading of "ambitus" as ambulatory depends on the unequivocal use of the word to describe this part of the church in RAAKASJA 2642, "Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiæ," p. 21: "Redeamus ad ambitum, ubi Sacello s.S. Trinitatis versus orientem contiguum est aliud Do Ivoni . . . sacrum."

36 FAA K316: *Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiæ. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuatoris Anni 1746*: 2: the distinctive features of St. Jacob's attract so much attention "ut non immerito, sed et verissime usurpari liceat vetus illud Antverpiæ eloquium, quod sic sese habet:" See Scribani 1610,

Magnificence, the virtue of spending princely sums tastefully, was necessary for the display of nobility, and for that reason St. Jacob's chapter of canons identified the choir repeatedly as the reflection of its own exalted status. Likewise, Pope Clement XI in 1705 approved the chapter's petition to augment St. Jacob's title by designating it as the "famous (insignis) collegiate church," in part because of "the sumptuous and ample structure and edifice, celebrated not only throughout Belgium, but in Europe itself," a criterion traditionally necessary for this distinction that brought the canons greater privileges.³⁷ The chapter and its choir in turn conferred greater luster on the church and its city.

136; FAA K316: *Breviarium*, 4, "Sol, quia magnificentia et claritate perlustrantium oculis quasi sol alter clarissimus emicat." For Quellinus, see above, chapter 3, n.41.

37 *Erectio* 1705, 15: "Bulla Pontificia Anni 1705." "...dictaque Ecclesia... in suis structurâ & ædificiis sumptuosa & ampla, ac non solum in toto Belgio, sed in ipsâ Europâ celebris..."

Private Chapels in the Church

8.1 Introduction

Nineteen private chapels and the two “great” chapels dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament and Our Lady (see chapters 5 and 6) describe a regular progression inside St. Jacob’s, along the aisles and around the ambulatory. These cell-like spaces seem a familiar, normal feature of Gothic churches. Rows of similar chapels appear in major churches of Brabant and Flanders built earlier or around the same time. St. Rombout’s, the seat of the archbishop in Mechelen; St. Pieter’s, the collegiate church of Leuven; and St. Jan’s/Bavo’s in Ghent, furnish important examples. But in the great city of Antwerp, where so many churches were built from the 15th through the 17th centuries, only St. Jacob’s incorporated side chapels as a continuous part of the whole structure. These chapels altered the architectural and symbolic character of the church. They opened active sites of devotion and social exchange where trade guilds, prominent families, and religious groups displayed their relationships to sacred and worldly power through what stands now as a rich variety of altar retables, paintings, and sculptures. Competing interests could easily have fragmented the community’s sacred space. But in this chapter I argue that during the seventeenth century the churchwardens diverted potential conflicts into support for a new kind of visual unity and vision of the sacred. By 1656 St. Jacob’s chapels embodied the success of Antwerp’s Counter Reformation.

8.2 St. Jacob’s Chapels to 1585

Important differences in origin and legal status separated the twelve chapels built along the two aisles of the nave between 1503 and 1525 from the seven chapels built around the ambulatory, between 1626 and 1656 (fig. 8.1). St. Jacob’s churchwardens paid to construct the nave chapels and directly administered them as an integral part of the first building campaign for their new church.¹ They, the lawful proprietors, decided who would tend the chapel altars and what saints would be worshipped there. They could evict tenants who failed to maintain their altars in a suitable fashion. By contrast, the ambulatory

1 See above, chapter 1.

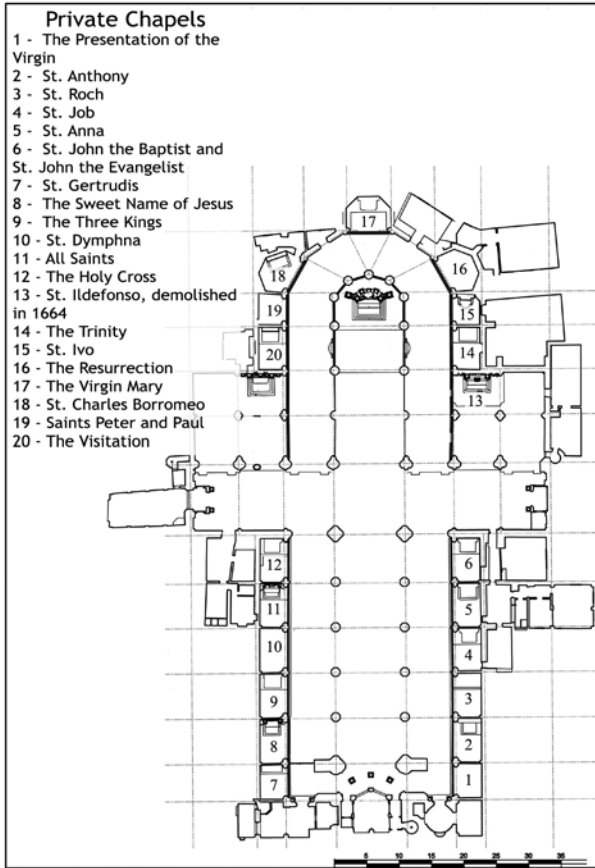


FIGURE 8.1 *Numbered plan of St. Jacob's indicating the locations of the private chapels. Note that numbers in the plan correspond with numbers for chapels in Appendix 1.*

SUPERIMPOSED COMPUTER GRAPHICS: ANANDAN AMIRTHANAYAGAM.

chapels were built individually, in a sequence, one after the other, as each private donor agreed to pay the cost. In exchange they received perpetual rights of burial exclusive to their families; they could choose the dedication and decide on the decoration.

The 16th century arrangement is exemplified in two nave chapels for which surviving works of art and documents provide sufficient information about use and decoration. Both chapels were dedicated to multiple saints.² The third

² See Appendix 1, nos. 3 and 10.

chapel from the west off the south aisle was dedicated to Saints Roch, Genoveva, Bavo, Francis, and Fiacre. A guild or confraternity devoted to St. Roch, the potent intercessor against plague, maintained the chapel and altar. The fourth chapel in from the west on the north side, dedicated to saints Peter, Paul, and Dymphna, also housed a religious guild devoted in particular to Dymphna, a local saint who helped especially those afflicted in mind. They maintained the altar in honor of their patron saint (see fig. 8.1, nos. 3 and 10). At the start corporate religious groups determined the dedications and decorated the altars in St. Jacob's chapels. These circumstances changed quickly.

8.3 The St. Dymphna Chapel

In 1515 St. Jacob's churchwardens ceded control over the St. Dymphna Chapel to Adrian Rockox and his wife Kathlyne van Overhof in recognition of the couple's generosity towards the chapel. Wealthy and powerful, Rockox threatened to evict St. Dymphna's guild. He obtained exclusive burial rights, freedom of access, and the privilege to care for the altar and endow it with masses. Rockox literally inscribed his claim to the chapel on his tombstone erected there.³ But the churchwardens also protected St. Dymphna and her guild, who were guaranteed the continued right to meet in the chapel, celebrate their services, and help maintain the altar. The Rockox family was constrained to share its enclave with the guild and also to accept the dedication to saints already in place.⁴

That compromise produced the great triptych by Jan Sanders van Hemessen painted for the chapel. It is one of the few works in St. Jacob's to survive the iconoclastic destruction of 1566, and the Calvinist purification of churches during the 1580s. When open, the triptych functioned as an epitaph memorial for Adrian Rockox and Kathlyne van Overhof who commissioned the picture (fig. 8.2). They kneel in the outside wings with their numerous children, name saints, and coats of arms, witnessing the dramatic Last Judgment in the center. The closed shutters however, suggest that the triptych also served as the new altarpiece, because they depict the chapel's patron saints, Peter and Paul in the left wing, and Dymphna, in the right, along with Margaret of Antioch, who all worship the striking group of the Trinity, with Christ as Man of Sorrows blessed

3 RAAKASJA 2641, f.8r.: Anno MDXV/ Adrianns Rockox hoc sibi/ sacellvm vivvs elegit in qvo/ mortvvs cvm svivs qviersceret/ vixit ann. LXXX. Obiit II. Apr/ An. MDXL (1515, When alive Adrian Rockox bequeathed this chapel for himself so that he might repose in it with his).

4 See Appendix 1, no. 10; for the life and cult of St. Dymphna, see Van Strydonck et al. 2006, 101–110.



FIGURE 8.2 Jan Sanders van Hemessen. *Rockox triptych open*.

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

by God the Father (fig. 8.3). Dymphna, kneeling on the right in compassionate empathy with Christ, breast bared, receptive to her martyrdom, is set in the foreground as especially important, perhaps answering the continued devotion of her guild that still would have shared the altar around 1538 when Van Hemessen painted this masterpiece. By replacing the older altarpiece that the guild had erected before 1515, Rockox enhanced the ornament of his chapel, commemorated his family and the masses that would have been founded for their souls, honored name saints, and also venerated the saints to whom the chapel was dedicated, above all Dymphna in the concession to her guild that he was bound to make.

8.4 The St. Roch Chapel

Perhaps because it involved a far more precious asset—access to the saint designated by Christ as patron in time of plague—the conflict over control of the St. Roch Chapel was settled in 1563 only by appeal to the highest authority,



FIGURE 8.3 *Jan Sanders van Hemessen. Rockox triptych closed.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

Antwerp's sovereign ruler Philip II, king of Castile and duke of Brabant among his many titles. The four altar wardens and directors of the Guild of the Altar of St. Roch petitioned the king for the right to administer their chapel's finances independently of St. Jacob's churchwardens who normally controlled the purse strings. Their argument was simple. Because parish income had dwindled since 1525, the churchwardens always were tempted to siphon off the generous gifts received by the St. Roch Chapel from those who beseeched the saint's protection. After Philip granted this request, the chapel kept its own separate accounts, submitted each year directly to the Antwerp Magistracy, and thus assured benefactors that their money would be spent as intended, to decorate St. Roch's altar and augment the services held there.⁵ What they gave embellished the magnificent altarpiece that decorated the chapel since 1517, evidence that the chapel enjoyed prosperity from early in the century.

⁵ See Appendix 1, n.10.

Twelve panels survive from that altarpiece, attributed with varying degrees of conviction to different artists active at the time.⁶ The panels, in their original state, likely were framed by sculptural elements now lost. (figs. 8.4–8.7. Panels from an altarpiece for the St. Roch Chapel depicting the life of St. Roch in color and patron saints in grisaille. 1517). Depicting St. Roch's life and miracles in unprecedented detail, the pictures achieved a new iconographic synthesis as the most important pictorial expression of the early veneration for St. Roch in Western Europe. Six of the panels also are painted on the reverse side in grisaille, indicating that they folded over the remaining six pictures as shutters when the altarpiece was closed. Each grisaille represents a sacred personage as if he or she were a stone sculpture ensconced in a deep circular niche, every one a lively, distinctive invention. They present in aggregate Mary the patroness of Antwerp, St. James the Greater, patron of the church, and then St. Roch as well as other saints to whom the chapel was dedicated.⁷ Just as the Rockox family staked its claim to the St. Dymphna Chapel through the new altarpiece painted by Van Hemessen, it is possible that some of the saints on the outside of the St. Roch altarpiece were the name saints of the chapel wardens who secured their place and even the privilege of burial in the chapel through St. Roch's potency as intercessor against the Black Death.⁸

Remarkably the iconoclasts who desecrated all the eighteen other altars in St. Jacob's on Aug. 20–21, 1566, spared the altar of St. Roch. Philip II's protection may have conferred the extraordinary status that was raised higher in the following weeks. At this moment William, Prince of Orange, the pivotal leader in the Netherlands, exploited the destabilization of power to negotiate with the Governess, Margaret of Parma, an accord of religious peace that would allow Protestants and Catholics alike to practice their faiths in the same city. Orange tried hardest to make this compromise of tolerance work in Antwerp. As part of his politics, William the Silent heard mass in the St. Roch Chapel on Sept. 13,

6 The most recent attribution is to Hendrik van Wueluwe, made by Mimi Van der Velden, who kindly communicated her argument to me via email and at a meeting in front of the pictures in the church.

7 For these panels see Prims, 1933; Schmitz-Eichhoff 1977, 246–260; Muller 2000, 105.

8 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. In fo. (latest date of monument recorded 1770), 212, records graves in the St. Roch Chapel of chapel wardens Jan van Stijle, 1558; Adriaen van Stijle, 1580; Jan van Stijle, 1633; Guiliam van Stijle, 1638, all apparently from the same family.



FIGURE 8.4 *Anonymous painter. St. Genoveva; from an altarpiece for the St. Roch Chapel. 1517.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.5 *Inner side of the panel reproduced in fig. 8.4. St. Roch praying in the wilderness where he is fed by the dog of a nobleman.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.6 *The last confession, wish, death, and burial of St. Roch.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.7 *Outer side of the panel reproduced in fig. 8.6. St. James as pilgrim reading.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

in a conciliatory gesture towards the Catholics who feared him, and towards Philip II, whose repressive edicts Orange had overturned.⁹

By June 1567 Orange's compromise had failed, Philip II's crackdown had imposed Catholicism once again as the exclusive faith, and the churches were safe for images. I already have described the symbolic steps by which St. Jacob's was re-consecrated (see above, chapter 1). St. Jacob's altars were intact, at least until the Calvinists regained power and systematically cleansed them in 1581.

Probably it was during this second iconoclasm that the first coat of white-wash erased a monumental Last Judgment, uncovered recently on the west wall of the St. Roch Chapel (fig. 8.8).¹⁰ Painted in grisaille to achieve an effect of relief sculpture, the picture fits compositionally within a group of Last Judgments by the Antwerp master Jacob de Backer, dating to the 1570s.¹¹ The mural painting stands now as the largest and most ambitious of its kind produced in Antwerp during the early modern period, and as one of the few major works to survive from the 1570s. Traces of an epitaph monument below suggest that this Last Judgment, like Van Hemessen's picture for Rockox, could have marked the grave of a wealthy Antwerp family, even though no records exist for this kind of burial during the 16th-century in the St. Roch Chapel.¹²

8.5 Chapel Decorations Before 1585

Decoration from before 1585 is scattered sparsely throughout the ten other nave chapels. The center panel of the St. Anna Chapel altarpiece, produced by the workshop of Frans Floris during the 1560s, survived, and was expanded in

9 FAA, PK 3194; Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij.": 130: "Rek. 15 Meert 1565/ 15 Meert 1566 (loopt tot en 1567): Item op den XIII september, des sondachs, met de schootelen ende dat den pryns van Ariaeden [sic] in ons (kerck) quam mys hooren, ende die wert ghedaen voer sints Rochus outaer van zynenen cappelaen int latyn, ende den hoffmester van den prins gaf my in myn schootel dry pennegen van vii stie.comt samen i poiund vii sc."; see Prims 1977–1985, v, 390; VTB 494; Muller 2000, 105; for the political context see Israel 1995, 152.

10 De Clercq 2002, 35.

11 Van de Velde 1993, 198–201; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten—Antwerpen 1988, 26, no. 653; also the version in Musée de Tesse, Le Mans, LM 10.44, that could be the picture painted for the epitaph in the Antwerp Carmelite Church of artist Pieter Goetkint (d.1583).

12 De Clercq 2002, 35.



FIGURE 8.8 *Last Judgment, St. Roch Chapel, west wall.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

1643 so that it could fit into a new portico frame. A horizontal seam marks the addition clearly (fig. 8.9; see fig. 8.1, no. 5).¹³ All other altarpieces have vanished.

Sixteenth-century wall paintings, much smaller than the St. Roch Last Judgment, have been revealed under the whitewash in and around some of

¹³ See Appendix 1, no. 23.



FIGURE 8.9 *Frans Floris workshop. The Holy Kinship for the altar of the St. Anna Chapel.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

the chapels. The Street Musicians Guild who maintained the altar of St. Job signaled their proprietary rights with a mural dating to the 1560s, painted on the outer pillar of the chapel (fig. 8.10; fig. 8.11; fig. 8.1, no. 4). Their patron Job sits on the dunghill serenaded by musicians in 16th-century dress, that scene framed in an ornamental roundel against a vivid red ground. More vestiges of red appear inside the chapel painted on the altar wall.¹⁴ Similar windows of color, opened under the whitewash in the 16th-century chapels, indicate that the chapels employed color and distinctive signs to set themselves apart, one from the other. The variegated and asymmetrical visual patterns that organized St. Jacob's interior, hemmed in by its provisional wooden roof and truncated choir, served later as a foil against which emerged the more unified vision that the churchwardens gradually brought to life during the seventeenth century.

Tomb slabs set into the chapel pavements left a more enduring commemoration of the powerful Antwerp families who claimed burial privileges in these locations where their personal and dynastic connections might last over generations and express themselves in other kinds of decoration as well. Elaborate monuments carved with recumbent effigies, coats of arms, and inscriptions, sealed the graves of Hendrick van de Werve (d.1540) and Heylwich van Cuyck (d.1571) in the St. Job Chapel (now set up against the chapel wall: fig. 8.12; fig. 8.1, no. 4), Ambrosius Tucher (d.1552) and Marie van Urssel (d.1601) in the St. Anthony Chapel (fig. 8.13; fig. 8.1, no. 2), and Judocus Draeck (d.1528) with Barbe Colibrant (d.1538) in the chapel of St. Christopher (later All Saints; fig. 8.14; fig. 8.1, no. 11).¹⁵ Van Cuyck paid in 1571 to replace the St. Job altarpiece destroyed during the iconoclasm of 1566 and thereby enhanced the ornaments of the musicians' chapel and her own place of burial.¹⁶

Tucher in the chapel of St. Anthony and Draeck in the chapel of St. Christopher, both installed stained glass windows at the bottom of which they and their wives kneel in perpetual prayer. The Draeck window, still in place, identifies the couple by their coats of arms, initials, patron saints James and Barbara, and an inscription dedicated "to the living bread that descended from heaven", an adaptation of Christ's words "I am the living bread which has come down from heaven. Anyone who eats this bread will live forever" (John 6: 51). The Annunciation in the gold-bordered roundel inserted at the center of the unearthly landscape above the donors (incarnation of the Holy Spirit and

14 De Clercq 2002, 34.

15 For Van de Werve and Van Cuyck, see Spiessens 2002, 244–247; for Tucher and Van Urssel, see RAAKASJA 2641, f.72r. and f.77r. and below, n. 19; for Draeck and Colibrant see RAAKASJA 2641, f.71r.

16 For Van Cuyck, see Appendix 1, no. 15.



FIGURE 8.10 *St. Job Chapel with mural painting on the pillar at the left.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.



FIGURE 8.11 *Mural painting of St. Job on the Dunghill Serenaded by musicians.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

the Word made flesh), and the Last Supper depicted in the upper half of the glass (institution of the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist) visualize Christ's promise, in a sequence that moves from bottom to top (fig. 8.15. See fig. 8.1, no. 11 for the location, also fig. 1.20).

All three family patriarchs belonged to an urban elite that dominated Antwerp's Magistracy. Through marriage they forged political alliances that would strengthen their positions and assure the futures of their descendants.¹⁷ The coats of arms, so prominent in the tomb slabs and windows, charted the social networks of family power constructed over generations.¹⁸ Tucher's window in the St. Anthony Chapel, now lost but reproduced in an 18th-century watercolor, functions more as a genealogy of his family's ascendance to the magisterial class than as a religious image (fig. 8.16. Watercolor of the Tucher window).¹⁹ These pedigrees, along with portraits that were duplicated in different media and postures, asserted private interests in the sacred precincts of the chapels.

In their 1533 petition to the Antwerp Magistracy for official recognition, the Silk Workers Guild listed as proof of viability the altar they had maintained over a span of years in St. Jacob's.²⁰ The Silk Workers, along with other marginal guilds—the Peat Carriers, Street Musicians, and Sawyers—appropriated the new chapel spaces in St. Jacob's to imitate the custom of the more established guilds who maintained altars in the central Our Lady Church (Cathedral after 1559).²¹ They earned legitimacy and enhanced their reputations by decorating the altars of their patron saints.

Guilds, religious brotherhoods, and noble families could enrich each other's benefits by sharing chapels. Draeck, Van de Werve, and Tucher never seized control of their burial chapels in the way that Rockox did. Instead they divided responsibility with the other "tenants" who maintained the altars. Van de Werve supported the Street Musicians' St. Job altar, Draeck added luster to the Peat Carriers Guild and their St. Christopher Chapel, and it could be that Tucher fostered the cult and Brotherhood of St. Anthony in that saint's chapel.

17 Baetens 1976, 1, 304–316, sketched the outlines of this network of family politics in Antwerp, fleshed out and related to patronage of art by Timmermans 2006.

18 Duerloo 1991, 174–176, discusses the representative functions of coats of arms in churches.

19 RAAKASJA 2641, f.77r.; RAAKASJA 56, f.96r., 1552, Ambrosius Tucher and his wife Marie van Urssel, buried in the St. Anthony Chapel, have donated the glass window there and paid for its maintenance.

20 Thijs 1969, 62.

21 Marinus 1993, 58–59; Dambruyne 2005, 209–214.



FIGURE 8.12 *Tombstone of Hendrick van de Werve (d.1540) and Heylwich van Cuyck (d.1571) in the St. Job Chapel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU-LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.13 *Tombstone of Ambrosius Tucher (d.1552) and Maria van Urssel (d.1601) in the St. Anthony Chapel.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.14 *Tombstone of Judocus Draeck (d.1528) with Barbe Colibrant (d.1538) in the Chapel of St. Christopher (later All Saints and Peat Carriers).*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Different groups in the city appropriated the discrete, private spaces offered by St. Jacob's twelve nave chapels to make a public display. Each chapel marked off a distinct precinct, enclosed on three sides by thick masonry walls, and probably fenced off on the open side facing into the aisle. Confraternities founded altars dedicated to intercessor saints who answered the prayers of those seeking release from one or another particular affliction. St. Roch was so revered that his guild could persuade the king to grant them control over their own purse. St. Dymphna's guild attracted a smaller following and hence was constrained to accept a subordinate position in the Rockox Chapel where



FIGURE 8.15 *Stained glass window of Judocus Draeck and Barbe Colibrant.*
KIK Z003683.



FIGURE 8.16 Stained glass window of Ambrosius Tucher and Marie van Urssel formerly in the St. Anthony Chapel, drawn in watercolors c.1706, from the "Sepulcher Book," RAAKASJA 2641, f.77r.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

that family openly displayed its qualification to enter the closed circle of the Magistracy, an ambition that was fulfilled soon after.²² Trade guilds, cohering around the new industries spawned by the city's booming economy, spilled over from the Our Lady Church to establish their legitimacy in St. Jacob's chapels which they shared with the patrician families who chose their places of burial there. These guilds and families were not necessarily tied to the parish. Their halls and houses were not located there.²³ It was the cell-like chapels that drew them. The churchwardens who administered the chapels owned by the church were willing to mediate between conflicting interests in which money and status always decided the outcome. Private interests were especially powerful at this time when community support for the church had faltered. No attempt was made to impose uniformity of decoration and ornament.

8.6 1585–1626: A Slow and Uneven Restoration of the Nave Chapels

As recounted above in detail, between 1581 and Aug. 20, 1585, when they surrendered to the Spanish army, Antwerp's Calvinists stripped St. Jacob's bare. It took decades to replenish and complete the parish church. Shaken by years of revolution, the private interests who had maintained chapels were even slower to make repairs. The confraternities of Saints Roch, Anthony, and Dymphna all vanished. Nicolaas Rockox the Elder, the leading member of his family in these years, harbored Lutheran sympathies.²⁴ Other families affiliated with St. Jacobs, such as Van de Werve, now disposed of less income.²⁵ The guilds were turned inside out by purges of their Protestant memberships and by the retraction of Antwerp's economy.²⁶

Despite all these changes, it appears that by 1590 St. Jacob's chapels were decorated at least provisionally with altarpieces painted on canvas, and then furnished during the next two decades with elaborate altarpieces and retables

22 Members of the Rockox family served as aldermen (schepenen) and then burgomasters of the Antwerp city Magistracy starting in 1541 and ending in 1625; see Prims 1977–1985, v, 132–135; VI-A, 181–186.

23 From 1533 the Tucher family owned the house Salvator in the Ambtman Str., located in the Our Lady Church Parish (Timmermans 2006, 209); the Peat Carriers occupied a succession of houses also located in the Our Lady Parish (Prims 1923, 282).

24 Diercxens 1773, IV, 353–354.

25 Timmermans 2006, 91.

26 Van Roey 1985.

by the leading artists.²⁷ Government decrees forced this new decoration at the start. The Hapsburgs founded their power on the exclusive hold of Catholic faith. As a term of surrender to the Spanish army, Antwerp's Magistracy already had agreed to repair the churches, and then on Sept. 9, 1585, complied, by ordering the trade and militia guilds to restore their despoiled altars.²⁸ It was crucial to put back in working order the system of material signs that united the Catholic city.

No traces remain of the altarpieces erected between 1585 and 1590 in St. Jacob's chapels. Written evidence suggests that some of them were painted on canvas, cheaper and quicker to produce, and that others were bought ready at hand and later replaced with more expensive commissioned retables as the conviction took hold that the Spanish-Catholic regime would stay in power. Obeying the Magistracy's command, the guilds acted first, the Silk Workers stating explicitly that they wanted to allay any suspicions of their Catholic orthodoxy.²⁹ Three out of the four guilds with altars in St. Jacob's—the Peat Carriers (1585, 1586), the Street Musicians (1590, 1593), and the Silk Workers (1597)—petitioned the city to raise income for repair of their altars.³⁰ In 1593 the Street Musicians engaged Jan Snellinck to paint a fine new triptych (figs. 8.17–8.18; fig. 8.19). Marten de Vos's 1595 triptych for the Silk Weavers Chapel was framed in a wooden retable now lost, although the pictures survive (fig. 8.20; fig. 8.21. Marten de Vos, Silk weavers triptych open, Martyrdom of St. Mark, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Martyrdom of St. Lucy, originally in the Presentation Chapel, fig. 8.1, no. 1). The Peat Carriers waited until 1608 before they acquired the retable now in place with its altarpiece triptych and predella panels by Ambrosius Francken the Elder inserted in a

27 Spiessens 2002, 230, paraphrasing a request (with no reference to the original document), submitted to the Antwerp Magistracy in 1590 by the Street Musicians Guild, for permission to increase the contributions required from members to support the altar in St. Jacob's. The request states that all the other altars had been furnished with a "taeffereel," meaning panel altarpiece, in contrast with the "doek," meaning canvas, in the St. Job Chapel. See above, chapter 5, for the similar provisional use of cheaper canvas pictures in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.

28 Diercxens 1773, VI, 184, twenty-seven articles of reconciliation with King Philip II signed by the Antwerp Magistracy on Aug. 17, 1585, article 22 requires the city to restore the churches; Prims 1977–1985, VI-A, 136, for the order communicated by the burgomasters to the deans of the guilds in the "Monday Council" (Maandagschen Raad), that they must restore their altars.

29 Thijs 1990, 118.

30 Prims 1923, 120, Peat Carriers petitions of 1585 and 1586; Spiessens 2002, 230; Thijs 1969,



FIGURE 8.17 *Jan Snellinck. Musicians triptych closed: Job on the Dung Hill, left panel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.18 *Jan Snellinck. Musicians triptych closed: Job on the Dung Hill, right panel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.19 *Musicians triptych open, the Virgin Mary and Angels singing the Magnificat, St. Cecilia playing the organ, center panel still in place.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.20
*Marten de Vos. Silk weavers triptych closed,
St. Mark and St. Lucy.*
KIK B121738.



FIGURE 8.21 *Marten de Vos, Silk weavers triptych open, Martyrdom of St. Mark, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Martyrdom of St. Lucy.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

polychrome wooden architectural frame and surmounted on top by carved saints (fig. 8.22. Peat Carriers retable open; fig. 8.23. Peat Carriers retable triptych closed). In 1617 the fourth guild, the Sawyers, replicated the measurements and incorporated the carved images of their older retable, when they commissioned the new work from “joiners and sculptors” Otmaer van Ommen and Jan van Suppoy who fashioned the architectural frame. Hendrik van Balen painted the triptych altarpiece and the predella panels below (fig. 8.24. Sawyers retable with triptych open depicting the Annunciation, left, Adoration of the Magi, center, Visitation, right; fig. 8.25. Detail of fig. 8.24, predella, depicting the Adoration of the Shepherds, left, Crucifixion, center, Flight into Egypt, right; fig. 8.26. Triptych of Sawyers retable closed, depicting the Virgin and Child left, St. Simon right).³¹

Other chapels tried to keep pace. It is not known who donated Marten de Vos's c.1595 triptych in the St. Anthony Chapel (the Tucher family?), the same painter's c.1600 *Adoration of the Sweet Name of Jesus* in the chapel devoted to that object of worship, or *The Baptism of Christ* painted c.1600 as part of an altar retable in the chapel of the two Saints John. (fig. 8.27; fig. 8.28; fig. 8.29). The chapels of Saints Anna, Dymphna, and Roch could reconfigure for use their old altarpiece paintings that had survived the iconoclasms of 1566 and 1581.³²

Keen desire to commemorate his own military exploits on behalf of the Catholic-Hapsburg state motivated Jodocus Robyns, lord of Borgerhout and Bailiff of Antwerp, to donate the altarpiece of the Holy Cross Chapel painted by Wenzel Cobergher in 1605 (fig. 8.30. Wenzel Cobergher. *The True Cross*). The picture depicts, in a theme fitting for the chapel, *The Emperor Constantine Kneeling Before the True Cross Held by His Mother, St. Helena*. It also alludes to Robyns' claim in the inscription below that he was “a military man who led troops for our prince.”³³ In fact, Robyns successfully led the Oct. 1595 counter-attack that drove rebellious States General forces out of Lier and regained that important city close by Antwerp for Philip II.³⁴ The altarpiece affirmed Robyns' allegiance to Church and State. His service was proclaimed again by the inscription in front of the true cross: “hoc signo victor eris,” Constantine's vision of Christ who promised the emperor, “You will be

31 See Appendix 1, no. 9.

32 See Appendix 1, nos. 5, 10, 3.

33 Nineteenth-century copy above the altar table of the original inscription records that among his other distinctions Robyns was “Vir militaris qui Ordines pro Principe Nostro duxit.”

34 Prims 1977–1985, VI-A, 139.



FIGURE 8.22 *Peat Carriers retable with triptych open, by Ambrosius Francken the Elder.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.23

Peat Carriers retable with triptych closed by Ambrosius Francken the Elder, depicting St. Matthew and the Angel; St. Hubert as Bishop with the Stag.

KIK B121711.



FIGURE 8.24

Sawyers retable with triptych open by Hendrik van Balen.

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.25 *Detail of fig. 8.24, predella by Hendrik van Balen.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

victorious under this sign.” Robyns’ choice of painter also linked him with the regime in Brussels, in that Cobergher at the time was the leading artist at the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Robyns jealously guarded his status as exclusive donor, rejected an offer by St. Jacob’s gravedigger to contribute towards the altarpiece, and diverted that gift to pay instead for some other ornament in the chapel.³⁵

As sole donor, Robyns exercised the prerogative to include his own and his wife’s portraits. Standing between the kneeling Constantine and a Roman soldier, Robyns glances directly at the viewer. His wife kneels on the right, with other women, a child, and men of less martial bearing who all venerate the cross. Two years later the Archdiocese of Mechelen expressly forbade this confusion of the sacred with the profane by decreeing in 1607 that no portraits of

35 RAAKASJA 1092, Feb. 7, 1605, chapel wardens acknowledge receipt of 50 guilders from the legacy of gravedigger Andries Berchmans for the chapel altarpiece. Joos Robyns undertakes to pay the whole cost of the painting, donates the 50 guilders to another purpose for ornamenting the chapel.



FIGURE 8.26 *Sawyers retable closed.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.27

Marten de Vos. St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit fed with bread by a crow and tormented by demons.

KIK KM5290.

the living should be painted in the center panel of an altarpiece.³⁶ Violation of the spirit if not the letter of this rule by the deans of the Peat Carriers Guild violated the spirit if not the letter of this rule when they included portraits of themselves and of their chaplain in the predella of their 1608 altarpiece (fig. 8.31). Antwerp's diocesan synod of 1610 rebuked the transgression by proclaiming that "If living people, or other signs of the living, or other profane things are depicted at the foot of an altar, we want them removed, or when the sacrifice of the mass is celebrated at the altar, covered with a small curtain: and we forbid that they be painted in the future."³⁷ It has been suggested recently that hooks at the corner of the predella in the Peat Carriers' retable indicate the actual use of curtains in compliance with the 1610 decree.³⁸ Change came through the back and forth exchange between practice and corrective rule. Indeed, after 1608 no other portraits were painted into St. Jacob's altarpieces. Private claims were made, as will be shown, through other means.

The Counter Reformation Church, concentrating its devotion on Christ and the Virgin Mary, projected another kind of message in the local space of

³⁶ De Ram 1828–1858, I, 319.

³⁷ De Ram 1828–1858, III, 142: "Si in pede altaris personae vivae, aut alioqui viventibus notae, vel si profana ibi depicta sint, illa deleri, aut dum in altari sacrificium missae celebrabitur, cortinula tegi volumus: atque ne in posterum ibi pingantur, vetamus." Herremans 2006–2007, I 64, emphasizes the decisive impact of these prohibitions.

³⁸ Van Leeuwen 2010, 115.



FIGURE 8.28 *Marten de Vos. Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.29 *The Baptism of Christ.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.30 Wenzel Cobergher. *The True Cross*.
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.31 *Detail of fig. 8.22, portraits of the deans and chaplain of the Peat Carriers Guild.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

St. Jacob's chapels. Several altarpieces erected around 1600 moved the images of patron saints to the peripheries of the retables, to triptych shutter wings or to wooden sculptures on top, while the figures of Christ and Mary occupied the centers. Mary singing the Magnificat replaced St. Job, the Adoration of the Magi supplanted St. Simon, All Saints Adoring the Trinity and Mary supplanted St. Christopher, and The Presentation of the Virgin took pride of place over St. Lucy.³⁹ A higher proportion of altarpieces in St. Jacob's followed this pattern than in Antwerp Cathedral where most guilds continued to give their patron saints pride of place. But the change is observable there as well as in other Antwerp churches. Of particular significance is the triptych painted by Otto van Veen 1606–1607 for the altarpiece of the Merchants Guild in the Cathedral nave. Joannes Miraeus, the one bishop of Antwerp who most actively

39 Herremans 2006–2007, I, 64–65, convincingly refutes the argument made by Baudouin 1989, 338–339, that the Antwerp diocesan synod of 1610 forbade any subjects in the center panels of altarpieces other than depictions of Christ and representations from the New Testament. While Herremans correctly observes that many altarpieces still included saints in the center panels, she does not take into account the trend that I have indicated in St. Jacob's.

concerned himself with the regulation of sacred images, approved the content of the center panel that depicts *The Resurrected Christ Worshipped by Penitent Sinners*.⁴⁰ This visual sermon on the sacrament of penance moved the guild's patron St. Nicholas into the wings of the outside shutters and into a sculpted image of him ensconced in the "upper work" of the retable, where he was visible for all to behold on most days when the altarpiece was shuttered in its closed position. Van Veen's picture offers an officially approved example of the change implemented more consistently in the chapels of St. Jacob's.

Change occurred as well in the format of the altarpieces. A new pattern of design emerged. As I have already argued in chapter 2, the altarpieces built around 1600 fitted into the "antique-modern" style that dominated ornament in the church after 1585. The surviving retables for the Peat Carriers and Sawyers guilds rejected Gothic curves in favor of right angles that fancifully combined the elements of ancient Greek and Roman architectural orders.⁴¹

Every significant innovation in the chapels after 1585 strengthened central control exercised by a unified Church and State. A city ordinance, obedient to the demands of the Spanish governor, forced Antwerp's guilds to restore their altars, an order from the top down that initiated the process of restoration in St. Jacob's. When portraits threatened to contaminate the sacred with the profane they were eliminated by prohibitions of the archdiocese and diocese that reacted against specific violations in what appears to have been an active campaign of enforcement. Retables in the nave now conformed to a uniform pattern that bears the stamp of a single template imposed by the churchwardens to coordinate decoration. Indeed, in 1605 the churchwardens pressured the Street Musicians to frame their 1593 triptych in a new wooden retable that would add suitable luster to the chapel.⁴² Likewise, in 1628 the Sawyers Guild was constrained to increase the frequency of divine services held in the St. Simon Chapel. In both cases failure to comply would result in eviction.⁴³ The churchwardens acted as local, parish agents of the city Magistracy that appointed them and to whom they were responsible. During the following decades, from 1626 to 1656, they exercised this authority in a different way to perfect the east end of the church with a circuit of new chapels around the ambulatory.

40 Göttler 1996, 162–163.

41 See above, chapter 2; Herremans 2006–2007, I, 33.

42 Spiessens 2002, 237.

43 Dambruyne 2006, 210.

8.7 1626–1656: The Ambulatory Chapels

In comparison with the uneven repair of chapels in the nave from 1585 to 1626, the seven chapels now built around the ambulatory cohere in a spacious and stately harmony. Instead of wooden retables cut in different shapes, busy with triptychs and polychrome sculpture, each retable in the ambulatory conforms to one general type; a simplified marble portico aedicula with a broken pediment, framing a single-panel altarpiece. Edges of black marble outline the bases and entablatures. Marble columns, varying in color from one chapel to the next, match the colors of the painted altarpieces. The white capitals and bases of the columns pick up the veins of white in the shafts and contrast with the black marble outlines they are set against (fig. 8.32; fig. 8.33). Marble enclosures lead the eye around the whole ambulatory in a continuous movement broken by variations of detail and color. The horizontal movement of the enclosures is slowed down on the vertical axis by the repeated profiles of the altar retables, visible one after the other.

But this solution marked the end in a sequence of decisions that arrived only gradually at its satisfying conclusion. The ambulatory chapels were built and paid for separately over a span of thirty years, unlike the chapels in the nave that had been constructed according to a unified model, implemented by the churchwardens in one building campaign for which they controlled the finances. In the ambulatory a new standard of architectural order provided the medium to reconcile private and parish interests through negotiations of trial and error.

The contingent nature of that process is recorded in agreements between the churchwardens and the private donors drawn up for each chapel. These acts approved by the city Magistracy set out clearly the rights and obligations of both parties.⁴⁴ The first, signed in 1626 by Spanish merchant Alonso Carillo, marked a crossroads when it still was possible to choose alternative solutions.⁴⁵ Carillo was free to choose between a stone or wooden retable, an altarpiece with or without shutters, and a chapel enclosure of whatever size he liked. Carillo's decisions set a precedent that determined future choices. Even though Carillo's chapel was dismantled in 1664 to make way for expansion of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, its innovative features were replicated in the later chapels where they still are visible (see above fig. 1.12, for the plan of c.1635

44 Söding 1986, 13.

45 RAAKASJA 1005, Jan. 22, 1626, "schepenbrief" granting permission and setting conditions for building the Carillo Chapel.



FIGURE 8.32 *North ambulatory chapels from west to east.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.33 *South ambulatory chapels from west to east.*
PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

on which the position of the Carillo Chapel is indicated at bottom right, drawn in with a freehand line).

Carillo decided in favor of a marble portico retable in the Corinthian order crowned by a broken pediment. The rules of the ancient Greeks and Romans mediated through architectural handbooks now prevailed.⁴⁶ In St. Jacob's the new design stripped away niches, triptych shutters, predella panels, and figural sculptures by which the visual field of the earlier retables had been complicated. The portico architecture in the Carillo Chapel drew a strong frame around the open, one-picture altarpiece. As for the chapel enclosure, instead of the high colonnaded fences that closed off earlier chapels, Carillo built a low marble balustrade that opened the altarpiece and chapel to view, enhancing spatial unity and luminosity between chapel and ambulatory. In aggregate the choices made for the Carillo Chapel introduced the current principles of Roman chapel decoration into St. Jacob's.

The next two chapels, now westernmost on the south and north sides of the ambulatory, appear like mirror images through a resemblance that testifies to their common ancestry in the demolished Carillo Chapel. The 1636 contract for the Lopez Franco Chapel on the north side repeatedly cited the Carillo Chapel as the example to follow, in the proportions of the altar, the window armature, the wooden pew (only the pew in the Biel Chapel survives), and the enclosure, all to enforce "conformity" (fig. 8.34).⁴⁷

Each agreement demanded uniformity in material and construction that encompassed the adjoining section of ambulatory as well as the chapel itself. The same white stone was used everywhere to build vaults and walls in the identical system. The Vincque Chapel, for example, starting in 1642, had to be completed, "in the manner begun and constructed for the other chapels of the Messrs. Carillo, Biel, and others, so that this new chapel can be used like the others."⁴⁸ After the donors handed over a specified amount, the churchwardens took on responsibility as contractors to hire the master masons, glaziers, joiners, and the other craftsmen who built the chapels.

46 De Jonge and Ottenheim, 2007, 93–110.

47 RAAKASJA 53, 335–338, Aug. 6, 1636: "alles in conformiteyt van die nu hebbende is de voors. Capelle van Alonzo Carillo;" "een houte sitsel van schrynwerck met eenen marberen thuyt tot afsluytinge van de selve capelle, conform de cappelle van de voors. Heer Alonzo Carillo op de zuytzyde in den ommeganck der selver kercke gemaect."

48 RAAKASJA 16, 395–398, June 14, 1642: "... in sulcker vuegen als nu begonst ende gemaectt is voor d'andere cappellen van de heeren Carillo, Biel ende andere opdat dese nieuwe cappelle soude cunnen gebruyckt worden gelijk de voorschreven andere."



FIGURE 8.34 *View of the Lopez Franco Chapel.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

As I have noted above (chapter 1), starting in 1636 the churchwardens integrated the ambulatory chapels into a unified plan for the whole east end of the church. In the contemporary drawing that visualized this “concept,” nine chapels ring the whole curve of the ambulatory (see above, fig. 1.12). The two chapels projected on either side of the Rubens Chapel never were built, partly as a result of the financial crisis at the time that brought the church close to bankruptcy.⁴⁹ In 1651 the churchwardens made the special effort to obtain a city exemption from quartering troops for Carennia in return for his agreement to complete the ambulatory and build his chapel, a “costly and magnificent work.”⁵⁰ They still held out hope in 1655 when they made provisions for what would happen if an additional chapel were built.⁵¹ By that time no one was willing to make the investment.

8.8 Donors and Their Motives

The families who founded the new ambulatory chapels in St. Jacob's followed striking new precedents. Jan de Gavarelle's donation of the Our Lady Chapel to the Antwerp Carmelite Church and his contributions to St. Jacob's already have been discussed (De Gavarelle's daughter Catherina and her husband Laurentius Biel founded one of St. Jacob's ambulatory chapels).⁵² In comparison with these lavish gifts the cost of building a chapel in St. Jacob's ambulatory—3,000 to 5,000 guilders—was relatively modest. Perhaps the churchwardens calculated that conformity to a simpler model would put ownership of a chapel within reach of the prosperous merchants and recently ennobled families who lived in the parish. In return the donors obtained the privileges that would confirm and perpetuate in memory their recently won status.

To that end they were granted exclusive burial rights in the crypts below, constructed as an integral part of each chapel. Families also gained the right to display their coats of arms in the keystones, windows, and other prominent locations. They could choose the patron saint, the subject of the altarpiece and the artist who would paint it. But that freedom entailed the additional cost of

49 See above, chapter 1.

50 RAAKASJA 1065, April 4, 1651: “soo costelijck ende magnificq werck als is het voltrecken van de voorschreven ommeganck.”

51 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 65e bijlage, transcription of declaration by St. Jacobs' churchwardens, Feb. 21, 1655, granting privileges to Jan Bollaert in recognition of the generosity he has shown by building his chapel.

52 See above, chapter 1, n.83; Timmermans 2006, 267–281.

the picture, along with paying for the “ornaments,” the liturgical vestments and vessels used to celebrate the “eternal” masses endowed on behalf of the family’s dead souls in purgatory. Some families built sacristies to store these precious things.⁵³ In the three chapels radiating around the east end and in the adjacent sections of the ambulatory, the proprietors, and no one else, could install epitaphs, sculptures, and pictures as they liked, insuring commemoration of the family, independent of any say from the churchwardens.⁵⁴ The descendants of both Rubens and Vincque enjoyed that liberty to make significant additions far into the 18th century.⁵⁵ Finally, several donors were awarded one of the prestigious “ladies’ chairs” that had signaled high social standing since late in the 16th century through their positions close to the pulpit during sermons.⁵⁶

53 See above, chapter 1.

54 RAAKASJA 53, 395–398, June 14, 1642, Magistracy grants Jan Vincque permission to build his chapel, stating that: “He will be held at his own cost to set in the chapel, from the foundation up, a marble altar and enclosure corresponding to the work in the other chapels close by, and the painting for the same altar, together with a pew of joinery, and he will be able to name and dedicate the chapel as he sees fit, the use and ownership of the same belonging to him and his descendants always and forever, without anyone having any say, part, or authority, nor shall anyone make, place, or hang any epitaphs, paintings, or anything else in the ambulatory outside the chapel, against the pillars of the chapel; but Jan Vincque and his descendants to the contrary will be able to make, place, and hang whatever epitaphs, paintings, or images they please, without needing to seek consent from the churchwardens, the ornaments and decorations of the altar and chapel remaining exclusively according to the discretion and pleasure of Jan Vincque and his heirs.”: “Voorts dat hij gehouden sal syn op synen coste in de voors. cappelle te doen stellen ende maecken van de fondamenten aff eenen marmoren altaer ende thuijn corresponderende op het werck van d’andere cappellen aldaer, ende de schilderye totten selven altaer, mitsgaeders een gestoelte van schrijnwerck in de selve cappelle, ende dat hij die sal mogen vernaemen ende dediceren soo ende gelijck hem dat gelieven sal, blijvende tgebruijck ende eygendom der selver altyt ende ten eeuwigen daege aen hem ende syne naecomelingen sonder dat imant anders daerinne oft aen sal mogen hebben eenich gesach, deel oft gebied, noch oock in den voorschreven ommeganck tegens de pilaeren der selver cappelle mogen maecken, stellen oft hangen eenighe epitaphien, schilderyen oft iet anders, maer wel dat de voorschreven Jan Vincque ende syne naecomelingen daer tegens sullen mogen maecken, stellen ende hangen alsulken epitaphie, schilderijen oft belden als hem gelieven sal sonder daertoe eenich consent van de kerckmeesters der voors. Kercke bij tyden wesende te moeten versuecken, blijvende voorts de ornamenten ende ciraten van den altaer ende cappelle ter discretie ende geliefte van de voorschreven Jan Vincque ende sijne erfgenaemen alleene.”

55 See Appendix 1, nos. 16 and 17.

56 RAAKASJA 53, 395–398, June 14, 1642, Magistracy grants Jan Vincque permission to build his chapel, and the churchwardens promise that the wife of his son Carel Vincque and his

Families in their ambulatory chapels permanently cemented the attachments they already had established on a smaller scale with the church and among each other. Franco Lopez Franco, Susanna Scholiers, and Rubens contributed brass colonettes to the high enclosure of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in the early 1620s, years before they built their own chapels.⁵⁷ Carena, Bollaert, and Franco Lopez Franco tied the benefices they had founded for the new chapter of canons in St. Jacob's to masses celebrated in their chapels. For them, the whole choir served as a private, exclusive enclave, almost like a mortuary church.⁵⁸ The ambulatory chapels and the new choir thus facilitated the rise of wealthy parish families into the aristocracy. In contrast with the more diffuse patronage of the nave chapels during the 16th century by confraternities, trade guilds, and out-of-parish nobility, it was a close-knit group of families who used the ambulatory chapels in the mid-17th century to assert their new claims in society and to perpetuate their sacred devotions.

Four of the family chapels in the ambulatory represented larger groups as well. Laurentius Biel and Catharina de Gavarelle, who built their chapel 1636–1638, quickly decided to share it with the brotherhood of Antwerp's legal profession and, for that reason, the dedication to St. Ivo, patron of advocates, is discussed below in the chapter on confraternities.⁵⁹ Three of the chapels belonged to leading members of the foreign merchant "nations" still resident in Antwerp. Carillo (whose chapel was torn down in the expansion of the Sacrament Chapel), a prominent member of the Spanish Nation, invested the chapel with a strong Spanish character by dedicating it to his name saint, Ildefonso, a Spanish saint whom the Archduke Albert had chosen as the focus of a devotion vital to the Hapsburg-Spanish regime in Brussels.⁶⁰ Franco Lopez Franco had been consul of the Portuguese Nation and his chapel actually was

children shall have and hold the use of "het gestoelte" (the pew) being the first on the left entering the church from the west, and that for as long as ladies' chairs (*vrouw gestoelte*) shall be tolerated in the church. RAAKASJA (old number 560), Van Lerijs, transcription, 65e bijlage, agreement between churchwardens and Jan Bollaert for his use of the chapel he built in the ambulatory, Feb. 21, 1655. In return for his contributions Bollaert shall have and hold during his lifetime "a seat in the pew standing in front of the chapel of St. Christopher where the churchwardens' chamber stands, as the same pew presently is closed off and separated, as long as the churchwardens keep their pew there." For these "ladies' chairs, see above, chapter 2.

57 See above, chapter 5, n.46.

58 See above, chapter 7.

59 See below, chapter 9.

60 Duerloo 1998, 268; on Carillo's prominent position in the Spanish Nation see Baetens 1976, I, 229.

referred to as the “Portuguese Chapel.”⁶¹ Carena from Milan dedicated his chapel to the Milanese saint, Carlo Borromeo, who, in the altarpiece by Jacob Jordaens, is depicted interceding with Mary and Christ to save the citizens of that city from plague through a miraculous intervention especially relevant in 1656 when the Black Death raged in Antwerp (fig. 8.35; fig. 8.36).⁶² I have observed repeatedly how these three “nations” joined in support of St. Jacob’s at crucial moments after the Catholic restoration in 1585.

8.9 Dedications of the New Chapels

The donors may have been free to choose, but their dedications and the subjects of the altarpieces mostly conformed to a clear hierarchy established by the Council of Trent in which “... the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints are to be placed and retained especially in the churches. ...”⁶³ Four of eight chapels were consecrated to the Trinity, Christ, and the Virgin Mary. The Bollaert Chapel was dedicated to saints Peter and Paul, pillars of the Catholic Church. In Pieter van Lint’s 1655 altarpiece the two embrace in farewell as they are led on the same day to their Roman martyrdoms, Peter’s crucifixion located in the background top right and Paul’s beheading bottom left. A white marble bust of Mary surmounts the picture in the pediment above (fig. 8.37). The altarpiece of the Carena Chapel presents the titular St. Carlo Borromeo, the exemplary Counter Reformation bishop, appealing directly to Mary for relief from the plague in Milan. She, in turn, softens her son’s anger against the world. In the one instance when an owner, Alonzo Carillo, dedicated his chapel to his own name saint, Ildefonso, that choice also represented, as noted, Antwerp’s Spanish “nation” and one of the central devotions of the Spanish-Hapsburg rulers. It is likely that the altarpiece (now lost) showed *St. Ildefonso as Bishop of Toledo Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin Mary*, as does Rubens’s famous triptych painted for the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia to decorate the chapel of the saint’s brotherhood in the church of St. Jacob op de Coudenberg, Brussels.⁶⁴ This event concentrates above all on

61 RAAKASJA 53, 335–338, Aug. 6, 1636, agreement between churchwardens and heirs of Francisco Lopez Franco, who had been consul of the Portuguese Nation in his lifetime. RAAKASJA 1080, bill from mason Jan Boutil for work executed Oct. 19–24, 1639, “aen den outaer van de Portugiesen”.

62 Baetens 1976, I, 222.

63 *Canons and Decrees* 1950, 215; Latin text, 483.

64 Vlieghe 1972–1973, II, 82–85.



FIGURE 8.35 *Carenna Chapel with view of the retablo.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.36 *Detail of fig. 8.35; Jacob Jordaens, St. Carlo Borromeo Interceding with Mary and Christ to save the people of Milan from plague.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.37 *Bollaert Chapel retable.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Mary herself, in her affirmation of episcopal authority, and in defense of the Spanish and Hapsburg devotion to the Immaculate Conception, of which St. Ildefonso was an early champion. Retable images of Christ, Mary, and the apostles were absent only in the Biel Chapel, where the Confraternity of St. Ivo insisted on an altarpiece devoted exclusively to their patron saint (see below, chapter 9). Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder's marble relief of the Crucifixion, added to the retable predella in 1700, filled that absence (see below, and fig. 8.46). Indeed, in its 1610 synod the Antwerp diocese required that a crucifix always should stand in the middle of the altar, especially during celebration of the mass, to assert the primacy of Christ. This implemented in practice the Council of Trent's doctrine that "though the Church has been accustomed to celebrate at times certain masses in honor and memory of the saints, she does not teach that sacrifice is offered to them but to God who crowned them..."⁶⁵ Each endowed chapel numbered a crucifix among its "ornaments," and the predellas of several chapels incorporated a permanent painting or sculpture of the crucifixion.⁶⁶

The altarpieces of the seven ambulatory chapels, viewed as a group, present a sequence of compositions easy to grasp in their outlines. In the chapels of The Trinity, Biel-St. Ivo, The Resurrected Christ, Saints Peter and Paul, and the Visitation, no more than four life-size figures in each picture clearly embody the object of devotion through their scale, expressions, and actions. More intricate designs by Rubens in his own chapel and by Jordaens in the Carenna Chapel lead worshippers from the lower edges, at eye level just over the altar tables, upwards to the most sacred personages, exemplifying the process of intercession from saints to Virgin to Christ (see below, fig. 8.40, for Rubens's picture). Unlike the other retables in the ambulatory, both of these are crowned by life-size sculptures that duplicate one of the divine figures in the picture below, but in a different aspect; Christ as Savior of the World (if the 19th-century image now in place replaced a 17th-century sculpture) over an angry Christ in the Carenna Chapel, and the Mater Dolorosa, the Virgin of Sorrows, over Mary holding the Christ child in Rubens's picture.⁶⁷ All seven altarpieces use vertical movement to symbolic effect, placing at the top angels who open the earth below to heavens above. These pictures repeatedly demonstrate the immanence of the sacred in the church at the altar and over the graves.

Although at the start in 1626 the design of the ambulatory chapels was uncertain, I have shown that ten years later a plan unified all the chapels

65 De Ram 1828–1858, III, 192; *Canons and Decrees* 1950, 146; Latin text, 419.

66 For example, RAAKASJA 1173, inventory of "Ornamenten" in the Carenna, Carlo Borromeo Chapel, April 29, 1768: f.2r.: "een Cruys met kopere Christus."

67 See Appendix 1, n.112.



FIGURE 8.38 *View of the Rubens Chapel.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

in conjunction with the vaulting of St. Jacob's choir. Everything was coordinated, from larger scale proportions and materials to small-scale decoration. Although the donors nominally were free to choose the type of retablo and altarpiece, in fact they conformed to the larger outlines of already established precedent. The choir and its ring of chapels were recognized in 1657, just a few months after completion of the last chapel, as a separate and distinct part of the church, praised for its lucidity and material of precious marble.⁶⁸ The eight donor families subscribed to the new architectural concept that would confer on them the virtue of magnificence.

8.10 Rubens Chapel: From the Painter to His Family

Of all the masterpieces in St. Jacob's, the altarpiece of the Rubens Chapel is the most celebrated. The painter's worldwide fame and the location over his grave guarantee it. The picture itself, painted by Rubens during the 1630s, is a deeply expressive work that glorifies the Counter Reformation Catholic Church (fig. 8.38; fig. 8.39; fig. 8.40; fig. 8.41). It commends the souls of Rubens and his

⁶⁸ See above, chapter 7, n.35.



FIGURE 8.39 *Rubens Chapel retable.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.40 *Peter Paul Rubens, The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

wife Helena Fourment, as they put it jointly in their Last Testament of May 27, 1640, “to almighty God, his blessed mother, the eternally Virgin Mary, and to all the heavenly host, and their dead bodies to the consecrated ground, choosing their burial in the parochial church of St. Jacob’s.”⁶⁹ But at that late date, three days before Rubens died, there was not even a whisper of plans

69 Söding 1986, 18. Söding’s excellent account assembles and judiciously considers the documentary and visual evidence concerning Rubens’s chapel in St. Jacob’s. Thøfner 2004, by calling attention to Helena Fourment’s independent attachment to the chapel, underlines the importance of the enterprise for successive generations of the extended family.



FIGURE 8.41 *Lucas Fayd'herbe, Mary pierced by a sword.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

for a chapel, an altar retable, or an altarpiece. The earliest trace surfaced a year-and-a half later, in an addendum to the painter's estate, submitted on Nov. 29, 1641 to the city of Antwerp. All the heirs—the widow Helena Fourment, Rubens's adult sons, and the representatives of his minor children—testified that a few days before the artist's death, given Rubens's choice of St. Jacob's as his and his descendants' final resting place, they had put to him the possibility of building a chapel for that purpose: "... to which he answered (according to his innate decency), that if his widow, adult children, and representatives of his minor children, found him worthy of such a commemoration, they should build the chapel without any further order from him, and in that case, use for it a painting of Our Lady with the child Jesus on her arm, accompanied by various saints, etc., and also an image of Our Lady in marble. . . ."⁷⁰ On the slim authority of a deathbed conversation, reported more than a year after it was said to have taken place, Rubens's family moved forward to build and decorate the chapel under the same conditions that St. Jacob's churchwardens imposed on all the families who built chapels around the newly completed choir of the church. Construction started in 1642. But the final touches were added only in 1650 when sculptor Cornelis van Mildert delivered the altar stone, a full decade after Rubens's death.⁷¹

True to the report of the artist's verbal instructions, his heirs commissioned a marble portico retable that still frames the two images of the Virgin Mary chosen by Rubens. His own *Virgin and Child with Saints* stands as the altarpiece where it displays figures who exemplify the central tenets of Counter Reformation Catholic faith. An heroic St. George raises the banner of Christ, victorious over the dragon. A devout and penitent St. Mary Magdalen bares her breast. And a powerful old St. Jerome pivots tortuously to fix us with his baleful eyes as he holds the Catholic bible on his left knee and points upwards with the index finger of his right hand to the divine source of his inspiration. They all gather round the Virgin and Child. At the center a cardinal, most often identified as the Franciscan St. Bonaventura, approaches closest to Christ, joins his hands in prayer, and reverentially kisses the proffered hand of the Child who turns away to look lovingly upwards at his mother. Three angels hover above, holding a wreath of roses over both Jesus and Mary.

In the niche of the retable's "upper work," a sword pierces the marble breast of Mary as the Sorrowful Mother (*Mater Dolorosa*), likely carved by Lucas Fayd'herbe, who learned the art of sculpture from Rubens during the painter's final years. At the apex of the pediment two child-angels hold a crown over the

70 Söding 1986, 24–25.

71 See Appendix 1, n.104.

head of the *Mater Dolorosa* to indicate that she also is the Queen of Heaven. It has been argued convincingly that this combination of decoration was more cobbled together than carefully planned. The works do not agree in proportion, they were made for other purposes, remained disposable as part of the artist's estate, and were joined together out of expediency. Rubens did indeed leave the decision of building a chapel to his heirs.⁷² By commemorating the painter they also advanced their own desires and interests.

Above all, Helena Fourment was attached to St. Jacob's where she had been baptized, married to Rubens, baptized her children, and saw the graves of her parents close by in the choir. Indeed, her second husband, J.B. van Broeckhoven, Baron of Bergeyck, was party to the 1669 contract for a new choir enclosure that commemorated the Fourment family (see above, fig. 7.8).⁷³ Four years later, when Helena Fourment died in 1673, she willed that her body be transported from Brussels where she lived and buried in the crypt of their chapel where Rubens's remains had been placed in 1645. During the intervening years two of her daughters, one fathered by Rubens and the other by her second husband, had been interred in the chapel.⁷⁴ It may well be that Helena Fourment expected to rise there in the company of her family and face her maker on Judgment Day. Because she paid the lion's share to build the chapel, she could control the location and character of her final resting place. The chapel was hers, as much as it was Rubens's.⁷⁵

Rubens's eldest son Albert also laid claim to this family space. He and his wife Clara Del Monte, who both died in 1657, erected their imposing epitaph monument below two windows on the right of the chapel (fig. 8.42). From that time into the 18th century more than eighty members of the extended family related by marriage chose to mix their bones with those of Rubens and his direct descendants. Foundations for masses perpetuated that memory and prayer for them until the French revolutionary occupation put an end to the old Church during the 1790s.⁷⁶ In the long run, Rubens's chapel served the purpose of securing its family's position in the city and parish over the course of many generations.

⁷² See Appendix 1, n.104.

⁷³ See above, chapter 7, n.30.

⁷⁴ Söding 1986, 29–31.

⁷⁵ See Thøfner 2004 for Helena Fourment's link with the Rubens Chapel in St. Jacob's.

⁷⁶ Söding 1986, 29–31.



FIGURE 8.42 *Epitaph Monument of Albert Rubens and Clara Del Monte in the Rubens Chapel.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

8.11 Late Efflorescence

Their exclusive proprietorship made it more likely that later generations would add to and change decoration in the family chapels of the ambulatory. Renovation progressed from the Biel Chapel (1700), to the Vincque Chapel (1716–1729), and ended in the Rubens Chapel (1755). In 1698 Frans-Marie Biel insured the legacy of masses, distribution of bread to the poor, and an allowance for maintenance of ornaments that his grandmother Catharina de Gavarelle had bequeathed to the chapel. Two years later Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder carved the brilliant ensemble of ornament for the pediment, Crucifixion relief over the altar, antependium, and four candle-bearing angels that grace the work (fig. 8.43). A comparison between the concept drawing that shows the retable in its original state from c.1638 and Joannes Claudius De Cock's deft rendering of Scheemaekers' additions, drawn c.1706, makes clear the fundamental changes that Scheemaekers effected through his unified design, iconographic scenography for the mass, and decorative flourishes (fig. 8.44; fig. 8.45).⁷⁷ The Biel coat of arms, featuring prominently in the Crucifixion relief, reasserted the family's ownership in a chapel dominated by the Confraternity of St. Ivo (fig. 8.46. Pieter Scheemaekers. Relief of the Crucifixion).⁷⁸ The Crucifixion itself dramatizes Christ's sacrifice with exquisite subtlety of touch and expression (fig. 8.47). Mass is tended by the angelic candle-bearers, carved to catch the gentlest animating shadows (fig. 8.48; fig. 8.49). De Cock's drawing shows how colored liturgical cloth could work as a vivifying contrast with the openwork carving of grapes and flowers twined around the initials of Jesus in the antependium, positioned directly below the Christ crucified over the altar (fig. 8.50). De Cock, in his loving depiction, celebrated Scheemaekers' work as one of the great masterpieces of Flemish sculpture just a few years after it had been finished.

In the next chapel eastwards along the south ambulatory, the Vincque Chapel, a new family who inherited ownership through marriage made their presence evident in a succession of epitaph monuments and embellishments to the altar retable that transformed the place as much as Scheemaekers had changed the Biel/St. Ivo Chapel (fig. 8.51). First came the weighty epitaph for the patriarch of the new family, Ludovicus Le Candele (d.1691) and his wife from the old family, Catharina Vincque, hung in an angle of the wall between windows so that the bust of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* on top looks directly at the picture of Christ resurrected over the altar, salving the sting of suffering,

77 For details on these drawings, see below, Appendix 1, n.93.

78 See Appendix 1, n.93; Jacobs 1916, 60.



FIGURE 8.43 *Biel/ St. Ivo Chapel retable.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.44 *Design drawing for the Biel/St. Ivo retable, c.1636–1638.*
ANTWERP, PRENTENKABINET, PK.OT.01562.



FIGURE 8.45 Joannes Claudius De Cock. Record of additions to the Biel/St. Ivo Chapel retable made by Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder in 1700. Drawing is part of St. Jacob's "Sepulcher Book." For details of the drawing see Appendix 1, and for the "Sepulcher Book" see chapter 10. RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.46 *Pieter Scheemaeckers the Elder. Relief of the Crucifixion over the altar of the Biel/ St. Ivo Chapel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.47 *Detail of fig. 8.46.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.48 *Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder. Candle-Bearing Angel on the altar of the Biel/ St. Ivo Chapel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.49 *Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder. Candle-Bearing Angel on the altar of the Biel/ St. Ivo Chapel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.50 *Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder. Antependium with Angels adoring the initials of Christ in front of the altar of the Biel/St. Ivo Chapel.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

death, transience, and grief with the promise of eternal life (fig. 8.52). A second epitaph, commemorating three Le Candele children, fills the whole wall under the window to the left of the altar with a powerful life-size marble group of *The Flagellation of Christ*, Michiel van der Voort the Elder's 1718–1719 masterpiece that combines dramatic movement, contrasts of light and shadow, piercing expression, and calculation of site to immediately convey the depth of suffering that turns, with the contrapposto of Christ's body, once again to the triumph of his resurrection on the altar (fig. 8.53). In the later epitaph for Ludovicus Le Candele the Younger (d.1729) Van der Voort executed a relief of *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, a work that possesses the dramatic elements of the Flagellation group along with an exquisite modulation of carving in depth to configure the miracle that most vividly embodies Christ's promise of victory over death (fig. 8.54). Finally, in the additions he made to the altar retable itself (1715–1721), Van der Voort composed a more theological account of Christ's resurrection, supported by personifications and biblical moments of recognition, crowned by the Virgin and Child seated over the pediment, the figure of Godhead on their right holding the inscrutable revelation to Moses "I am who I am" as she turns to catch the constant illumination of light from the south



FIGURE 8.51 *Vincque-Le Candele Chapel seen from the south ambulatory.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.52 *Epitaph of Ludovicus Le Candele, attributed to Artus Quellinus the Younger or Guiliam Kerricx.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.53 *Michiel van der Voort the Elder. Flagellation.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

(fig. 8.55). Van der Voort in the space of eighteen years filled in the flesh and spirit of this chapel for the Le Candele family.⁷⁹

The identical motive, to maintain family pride under a new name acquired through inheritance, led J.B. Jacobus van Parijs, a canon in St. Jacob's collegiate chapter, to repave the Rubens Chapel and erect new marble inscriptions for it in 1755. Through the inscriptions Van Parijs celebrated the past glory of the great painter.⁸⁰

79 See Appendix 1, no. 16, for detailed information on this chapel and its decoration.

80 See Appendix 1, no. 17.



FIGURE 8.54 *Michiel van der Voort the Elder. Epitaph of Ludovicus Le Candele the Younger with The Resurrection of Lazarus.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.55 *Retable of the Vincque-Le Candele Chapel with Michiel van der Voort the Elder's additions in white marble framing Gerard Segher's altarpiece painted by 1649 depicting The Resurrected Christ Appearing to Mary.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

8.12 Completion of the Nave Chapels: 1626–1785

The nave chapels never would conform to the tighter order of the ambulatory. Circumstances varied in the nave. Some chapels languished through neglect. In others competing interests fought for precedence. Confraternities, guilds, chapel wardens, individuals, and families who sought commemoration, prestigious burial, or the favor of a saint, all made their claims through ornaments added onto a century's worth of accumulation. Diversity survived from the 16th century. Nevertheless, as I have argued above, St. Jacob's churchwardens used the long-term project of constructing new chapel enclosures as the means to draw a border of uniform order around the nave, that separated the public parish space from the private chapels, and created at the same time a harmonious, lucid interior measured by the architectural rules of antiquity.⁸¹ Low marble fences, the singular unifying element of the ambulatory chapels, were extended into the nave. But personal claims asserted themselves even in the enclosures where anonymous conformity might have been expected.

The first three nave enclosures, installed in the chapels closest to the west entrance of the church, distinguished themselves from the other chapels by their brass instead of marble balusters (St. Gertrudis 1626–1627, St. Anthony 1626–1627, Silk Workers Guild 1628; see fig. 8.1 for the locations of these chapels, and the same numbers in Appendix 1 for documentation). An inscription on each baluster imprints the donor's chosen message that usually commemorates names and dates, but sometimes presents coats of arms, records of office, or an anonymous prayer. These collective records of personal commemoration repeated the precedents established a few years earlier in the brass columns donated to close off the high fences around the Blessed Sacrament and Our Lady Chapels (see chapters 5 and 6). Parishioners of modest income could afford the smaller balusters, while only the wealthiest could pay for one of the "great chapel" columns. Inscriptions transformed ornament even on a small scale into symbolic expression, and gave voice to the different groups who joined together in the revival of these nave chapels between 1625 and 1628.

Inscriptions on the enclosure of the Silk Workers Chapel, western most in the south aisle, establish some of the relationships at work (fig. 8.56). Encouragement came by example from St. Jacob's pastor, Joannes vander Gouwen (1627–1629), and from one of the churchwardens, Joannes Govaertsen vander Graef, who each donated a baluster. Current and former deans of the Silk Workers Guild followed suit. One of them included a paraphrase of Counter

81 See above, chapter 3.



FIGURE 8.56 *Enclosure of the Silk Workers Chapel of the Presentation.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

Reformation doctrine that reserves supreme worship (*latría*) for Christ and the Eucharist, not to be confused with lesser sacred things (fig. 8.57).⁸² Together, the deans of the guild formed an exclusive group who monopolized power and protected their own oligarchic interests, in opposition to a majority of disenfranchised, capital-poor master weavers.⁸³ Who then, was this chapel for; the handful of deans, the hundreds of free masters, or the thousands of wage earners who depended on the industry for their livelihoods?⁸⁴ Antwerp's Magistracy, appointing churchwardens and guild deans alike, insured an official display of piety redounding as well to the personal credit of those in power.

Another motive, fear of the plague that infested Antwerp starting in 1624, spurred donation of the twelve brass balusters to the enclosure of the adjacent St. Anthony Chapel.⁸⁵ Marten de Vos's altarpiece of the saint, intercessor against the fire of plague, would have offered the focal point for prayers and could have attracted the gifts needed to construct the new fence.⁸⁶ One baluster inscription voices the prayer of an anonymous female donor: "O Lord do not judge your servant according to the law, but rather be merciful

82 Inscription on top: *Svpremo sola nvmini latría*/ 1628/ Wynandt-Kettenis-Deken. *Canons and Decrees* 1950, 76: "... give to this most holy sacrament in veneration the worship of *latría*, which is due to the true God."

83 Thijs 1987, 211–212.

84 Thijs 1969, 96–101.

85 Marinus 1995, 27.

86 Molanus 1771, 248.



FIGURE 8.57 *Enclosure of the Silk Workers Chapel, Baluster of Wynandt-Kettenis.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 8.58 *St. Anthony Chapel baluster with prayer.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

to me with your gracious charity 1627” (fig. 8.58).⁸⁷ Another donor, brother Jan van der Linden, father (prior) of the Cellebroeders whose convent lay close by and whose calling as nurses of the sick and tenders of the dead made them intimate with the plague (about which Van der Linden wrote a *Tractaet van de Peste*), linked the St. Anthony Chapel with one of the regular orders settled in the parish.⁸⁸ Painter Hendrik van Balen, whose body would be buried close by in the nave, also contributed a baluster in the collective fervor that led the following year to founding a Brotherhood of St. Anthony.⁸⁹ As I argue in the next chapter, many of the chapels in St. Jacob’s housed more ephemeral confraternal devotions that flourished in time of need. During the late 1620s a short burst of activity produced these three new chapel enclosures with their brass balusters. Attention turned back to the nave chapels only after 1642, when large-scale construction on the church was completed and the new

87 “O Heere/ en wilt met v dienersse/int recht niet treden/maer syt my genaedigh/naer v bermerticheden/ 1627.”

88 Prims 1977–1985, VI-B, 595.

89 See below, chapter 9.

pastor Franciscus van den Bossche sought to rekindle old devotions and to found new.

It is then no coincidence that the first retable to be constructed in the nave since 1617 dates to 1643, built for the St. Anna Chapel.⁹⁰ The old altarpiece of St. Anna and Her Family, attributed to Frans Floris, was pared down to its center panel that was then expanded on top to fill the lavishly ornamented new portico frame (fig. 8.59). In the following decades the adjacent chapels introduced similar improvements that conformed to the precedent set by the innovative, single picture, portico retables erected in the ambulatory chapels, except for one major difference. In the ambulatory the retables conformed to a simplified profile. In the nave each new retable competed with its neighbors. Willem von Ehrenberg's 1663 picture (see fig. 3.1) vividly captures the ostentatious display of the sculptural frames lined up one after the other in the south aisle, from the St. Anna Chapel (still hidden behind its high enclosure that was replaced soon after), and the St. Job Chapel (wooden retable replaced in 1663), to the St. Roch Chapel (marble retable erected 1658–1660).⁹¹ That effect remains in place today (see above, figs. 3.1 and 3.2).

The constant pressure to increase the splendor of ornament meant that every opportunity would be seized. A new marble retable was completed in 1689 for the chapel of St. John, paid for by a widow's legacy (fig. 8.60).⁹² In 1744 the executors of the Rockox Foundation, responsible for the St. Dymphna Chapel, replaced Van Hemessen's Last Judgment triptych with a new retable and altarpiece of St. Dymphna as Martyr. Crafted out of wood, it was painted over to look like more precious marble so as to present at least the appearance of magnificence.⁹³ Even as the edifice of the Counter Reformation Church began to collapse around them, St. Jacob's churchwardens persisted. The ornate marble portico that stands now in the St. Anthony Chapel, awkwardly framing the center panel of Marten de Vos's 1595 triptych, was acquired in 1785 from the Antwerp church of the Victorinnen, one of the convents suppressed by the Emperor Joseph II.⁹⁴ (see below, fig. 11.4)

The high stakes of magnificence were played out in a conflict over who would control the chapel of St. Roch. After years of neglect, in 1648 the parish priest Van den Bossche "renewed" the chapel and appointed chapel

90 See Appendix 1, no. 5.

91 Baisier 2008, I, 111–117.

92 See Appendix 1, no. 6.

93 See Appendix 1, no. 10.

94 See Appendix 1, no. 2.



FIGURE 8.59 *Retable of the St. Anna Chapel.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.60 *Retablo of the St. John Chapel.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

wardens to administer it.⁹⁵ One of them, sculptor Jan van den Cruyce, produced a handsome marble enclosure as the first sign of a revived devotion (see above, fig. 3.5).⁹⁶ Nine years later, in 1657, the chapel wardens hired Van den Cruyce again, this time to erect a new altar retable. But St. Jacob's churchwardens intervened to obtain a cease and desist order from the burgomaster of Antwerp. They argued that "the most eminent parishioners" were willing to pay for "a very beautiful marble altar and other precious ornaments," that would spare the community any expense. Two weeks later, on Sept. 28, 1657, the churchwardens filed an agreement that effectively wrested control of the chapel from the chapel wardens and handed it over to the new benefactor, Jonker Alexander Balthasar Roelants, lord of Heijnthout and Royal Postmaster in Antwerp.⁹⁷ This change ended the St. Roch Chapel's financial independence granted a century earlier by Philip II, restored the ultimate authority of the churchwardens backed up by the city, gained the chapel a splendid new retable likely carved by the great sculptor Artus Quellinus the Elder, with an altarpiece, signed and dated 1660, by his brother Erasmus Quellinus the Younger, supplanted a group representative of the city's guilds (the chapel wardens) with an aristocratic agent of the Spanish regime in Brussels, opened the way for a new exclusive brotherhood housed in the chapel (see below, chapter 9), and at the same time increased the popularity of St. Roch's cult, all at the point of crisis that I have analyzed above as a threat to the very existence of St. Jacob's (fig. 8.61).⁹⁸

Roelants, the new "headman" of the chapel, was forced to make concessions in return for the exclusive burial rights he had won for his family:

[...] all the services of masses and confessions shall continue as they had been in the chapel, St. Roch being a patron in time of plague, so that many people take their refuge there, by paying for private masses and lighting candles, on the customary days of Sunday and holy days to the benefit of the community, so that the chapel must remain open, like the other chapels in the nave. To that end and on behalf of the community, a key to the chapel shall remain in the church, and with the express

95 See Appendix 1, no. 3.

96 See Appendix 1 no. 3.

97 RAAKASJA B.48/5, cease and desist request from the churchwardens, Sept. 14, 1657; RAAKASJA B.48/6, grant of privileges to Roelants in return for his donation of the new altar, Sept. 28, 1657.

98 Muller 2000, 102–104, for the social and political implications of this conflict.



FIGURE 8.61 *View of retable and chapel of St. Roch.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

condition that ownership of the chapel shall remain in the hands of the church.⁹⁹

Pastor and churchwardens tried to reconcile the interests of the private benefactors, who could pay for magnificent decoration, with popular devotions that would attract a broader base of support. The nave chapels—bordering on the parish space, uniformly visible over the low barrier of enclosures, displaying an array of dazzling altar retables—now housed symbolic resources vital to diverse groups within the community. Merchants and nobles who came too late, or were not willing to pay the high cost for a chapel of their own, could buy a conspicuous site for burial and commemoration in one of the nave chapels to which they might contribute a new retable, a balustrade, a richly endowed mass, or a stained glass window.¹⁰⁰ But the churchwardens also protected the more public character of the chapels. They were opened on Sundays and feast days. Perhaps the accessible key indicated that St. Jacob's, and in general the Counter Reformation Church, wanted to include all the faithful, because at least until 1515, prior to the Reformation, it was the custom in St. Jacob's to exclude everyone except the chapel's patrons.¹⁰¹ Another major change implemented by the Counter Reformation, more frequent practice of the sacrament of penance, also left its trace in the St. Roch Chapel. I already have noted (chapter 4) that—in opposition to the prescriptions of St. Carlo Borromeo—confessionals were located in several of St. Jacob's nave chapels.

99 RAAKASJA B.48/6: "... alle diensten van missen ende bichten sullen continueren als van voortijden is geweest als wesende Sinte Rochus eenen patroon van de peste, daer vele personen haeren toevlucht toe nemen van particuliere missen te doen doene ende lichten te onsteken ende op de gewoonlijke dagen van sondagen ende heijlichdagen tot gerieff van de gemijnte dat de voorschreven cappelle sal moeten open wesen gelijck als andere cappellen in den beuck staende, waertoe tot dienst van de voorschreven gemeijnte eenen sleutel van de selve cappelle aen de kercke sal blijven, ende op conditie expres dat den eijgendom van de voors. Cappelle altijt sal moeten blijven aen de voorschreven kercke. ..."

100 See Appendix 1, n.37, 1660, epitaph portrait of Cornelis Lantschot with endowed masses in the Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel; 1668, Joan Baptist Huart and Clara Rijsheuvels pay for marble enclosure and burial crypt in the Three Kings, St. Simon, Sawyers Guild Chapel; 1677, Arnould van den Bende pays for stained glass window depicting The Circumcision of Christ in the Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel; 1689, new retable in the Saints John Chapel paid for from legacy of Anna Leijssens, widow of Stephanus van der Kelen.

101 See above, concerning the St. Dymphna Chapel.

A gift of silver liturgical vessels made to the chapel of St. Roch in 1677 by twenty-two men and women living in the “community of the Cauwenburg,” suggests that the strategy to bring in the poor together with the rich may have worked.¹⁰² Earlier the Jesuits had mentioned exactly this poverty-ridden street in their attack on St. Jacob’s failure to care for its parish poor.¹⁰³ Now, twenty years later, a vital, magnificent cult of St. Roch had drawn these same people into the devotional life of the church.

8.13 Intensifying Devotion with Relics and Prints

In the handful of nave chapels where viable devotions thrived, relics brought the saints into direct physical contact with the needy who sought divine intervention. These fragments of saintly bodies would be resurrected in the flesh and joined with Christ in paradise at the Last Judgment, reunited with their blessed souls that even now, at the very moment of prayer, could intercede with Mary and Christ on behalf of the devout petitioner.¹⁰⁴ Relics were donated as precious gifts, authenticated in bishops’ certificates, and distinguished by unbroken provenance.¹⁰⁵ Antwerp’s Jesuit Bollandists wrote the lives of the saints with new critical methods that would lend the veneration of saints and relics the credibility justified by the Council of Trent.¹⁰⁶ The Counter Reformation Church used this newly acquired body of knowledge to exercise control, from the top down, over a practice that Protestants ridiculed as superstitious and corrupt. St. Jacob’s, furnished with episcopal certificates for its own relics, conformed to the new standard.¹⁰⁷

Chapels that tried in other ways to enliven their cults also were the most likely to acquire relics. Relics of the recently canonized St. Charles Borromeo

102 RAAKASJA B.48/9, act of donation dated June 1, 1677, signed by twenty-two donors.

103 See above, chapter 3.

104 *Canons and Decrees* 1950, 215–217; Latin text, 483–485, for decree justifying the veneration of relics and guidelines for their use.

105 De Ram 1828–1858, II, 231, second diocesan synod of Mechelen, 1609, guidelines for episcopal approval of new relics in conformance with the Council of Trent.

106 Van Strydonck et al. 2006, 10–11.

107 RAAKASJA B.73, Account Book of the Journeymen Tailors Brotherhood of St. Bonifatius, f.9r., copy of the certificate issued by Carolus d’Espinosa, bishop of Antwerp, on May 12, 1734, attesting to the authenticity of the relic of their saint that the Brotherhood had acquired.

attracted a crowd of the faithful to the Carenna Chapel on his Nov. 4 feast day.¹⁰⁸ New reliquaries were attached as permanent sculptural fixtures under the windows at the centers of the south walls in the chapels of St. Roch (1660?), St. Anthony (1682), St. John (late 17th century), and St. Anna (of St. Catherine of Alexandria to whom the chapel also was dedicated, 1755; fig. 8.62; fig. 8.63).¹⁰⁹ Prominent sculptors carved the reliquaries in wood—gilded, silvered or polychrome—to glorify the minute splinters of bone set within crystal, much as the consecrated host was magnified for display by the monstrance around it. During the 18th century brotherhoods affiliated with St. Jacob's centered their whole existence on the relics they painstakingly acquired and displayed as proof of their legitimacy (see below, chapter 9). Also, St. Jacob's collegiate chapter of canons exercised its responsibility to protect holy relics by receiving them into the church and then processing with them from the high altar to the chapels selected for their repose.¹¹⁰

Along with the display of relics, some of the livelier nave chapels distributed engravings on their patron saint's feast day. They continued a practice rooted in the 16th century and shared by other devotional organizations in St. Jacob's, from the parish (see above) to the brotherhoods (see below, chapter 9, for a full account of these prints).¹¹¹ The size and dates of editions reflected the audiences for which they were intended. Starting 1640–1641 the Peat Carriers issued a hundred prints every year from each of two copper plates they had commissioned, enough for the guild members who gathered in their chapel to celebrate the feasts of St. Hubert and All Saints.¹¹² In 1750 the Brotherhood of St. Roch printed 12,000 engravings to satisfy the massive demand generated by their popular saint (fig. 8.64).¹¹³ Other chapels fell between these extremes.¹¹⁴

By this date the prints—approved by censors and furnished with episcopal indulgences—represented an official version of Counter Reformation devo-

108 FAA K316, *Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuoris Anni 1746, 39.

109 See Appendix 1, nos. 3, 2, 6, and 5, for these reliquaries.

110 Loupès 1985, 61; RAAKASJA (old number 560), 50, relics of St. Catherine given to the church in 1753 by Joseph Lanen, former churchwarden, and assigned by the chapter to the St. Anna Chapel.

111 Thijs 1993.

112 Prims 1923, 229.

113 Thijs 1993, 94.

114 Between 1680 and 1714 the wardens of the St. Anna Chapel printed an average of 350 prints each year, and then a lower number through the next decades FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the *kerkrekeningen*, St. Jacob's/22: St. Annakapel, In hand of Van Lerijs, extracts from "Rekeningen van Ste. Anna Kapel, te St. Jacobs, 1680–1737."



FIGURE 8.62 *Reliquary of St. Roch.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.63 *Reliquary of St. Catherine carved by sculptor Franciscus Somers.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 8.64 P.B. Bouttats. *Prayer and Indulgence of St. Roch for the saint's chapel in St. Jacob's*. Engraving. 1750.

FAA.

tion at odds with actual practice. The saints may have shifted to the periphery of St. Jacob's new retables earlier in the 17th century, but by mid-century they returned in force. Multiple images projected different aspects of St. Roch in his St. Jacob's chapel; healed by angels in Erasmus Quellinus' 1660 altarpiece, beckoning as pilgrim in the marble sculpture crowning the retable (fig. 8.65), present in the flesh and bone of his relics displayed in the reliquary capped by a marble bust of the saint that seems to possess the individual traits of a portrait, repeated over again in the several venerable panels surviving from the dismembered retable of 1517. The chapel's effort to concentrate all parts of devotion within that framework saturated by imagery of the saint, and devoid of any prominent representations of Christ, Mary, or other saints, implies that the real transaction occurred between the faithful and the powerful saint. But the devotional print published by the chapel in its mass edition of 1750 makes only a brief appeal to the merit of the saint, and features above all a prayer that addresses God directly, acknowledges plague as the divine instrument of His just anger, and begs humbly for mercy. P.B. Bouttats' engraving of St. Roch as intercessor that accompanies the prayer is based not on Quellinus' altarpiece in St. Jacob's, but on Rubens's picture in St. Maarten's, Aalst, where Christ



FIGURE 8.65 *St. Roch Chapel retable.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

appears prominently to confirm his promise that “You will be patron in time of plague.” In the more public print St. Roch has been reduced to intercessor, while in the chapel it seems as if the saint can act on his own.

But the apparent conflict between an “official Church” and local practice was superficial. In fact, one part of the genius of the Counter Reformation Church was its built-in toleration for more traditional local practices of religion through which belief and attachment intensified, just so long as these customs did nothing to harm the reputation or challenge the doctrines of Catholicism. The fervor of devotion generated by St. Jacob’s Roch Chapel after 1660 proves that the parish church and its chapels had taken their intended place at the center of a closed system of belief, now organized far more effectively through coordination of images, attractive magnificence, mass communication in prints, involvement of elite proprietors who represented the central Hapsburg regime, and a wide following throughout the community whose access was guaranteed. The parish church integrated itself into the community as a key resource for life in the city.

8.14 Conclusion

St. Jacob’s nineteen private chapels introduced an architectural feature unique to Antwerp because they border the whole periphery of the church. These discrete spaces offered individuals, families, and corporate groups the opportunity to assert their separate interests in a communal setting. The twelve nave chapels, built early in the 16th century, fixed a pattern of devotion to local and patron saints dominated by corporate groups—trade guilds and religious confraternities—but shared by wealthy families as well. Before 1585 the chapel tenants formed a citywide constituency, not necessarily based in the parish, for whom the chapels opened a public forum in which they might confirm their economic viability, enhance social position, and win the favor of powerful saints. Although the churchwardens—as officers of St. Jacob’s and the city—owned and regulated the chapels, the weakness of communal support from within the parish increased their dependency on private interests housed in the chapels and tempted them to seize income generated by the few successful devotions. St. Roch in particular, as intercessor against plague, attracted gifts substantial enough to warrant protection from King Philip II, an act that invested the chapel during the 1560s and later with symbolic value for the whole Catholic community in Antwerp. Despite this public significance the nave chapels probably were enclosed behind high fences. Up to 1585 they were accessible exclusively to the groups who maintained their altars. Each chapel

was decorated with a differently shaped retable, and marked with mural paintings in a diverse patchwork separate from any unified plan.

After the Catholic conquest in 1585 the renovation of the chapels inscribed the *tabula rasa* left by iconoclasm with a completely different message. A chain of command from the general of Spain's conquering army to the city Magistracy passed down the order that Antwerp's guilds must restore their altars. The four guilds affiliated with St. Jacob's complied by purchasing major new retables between the years 1593 and 1617 (St. Job, Presentation of the Virgin, All Saints, St. Simon). Other donors, for a variety of reasons, contributed the four additional altarpieces from that time; to gain the favor of a plague saint (Anthony), to commemorate militant support for the Hapsburg-Catholic union of State and Church (Holy Cross), and to renew an established devotion (saints John, Sweet Name of Jesus). Chapel patron saints in most of these new retables moved to the periphery out of deference to Counter Reformation Catholicism's insistence on the central importance of Christ, the Trinity, and Mary. Official decrees also excluded portraits of the living from altarpieces, in order to separate the sacred from the profane. Retable design conformed to a more uniform model based on the elements of antique architectural orders. Yet the formats of the nave chapel altarpieces still varied, the recovery proceeded slowly, and several of the chapels languished in neglect.

A more rigorous and unified design emerged only in response to the construction between 1626 and 1656 of eight chapels ringing St. Jacob's ambulatory and high choir. These new chapels stood distinctly apart from the nave chapels by reason of their legal status inside the church, their religious and social functions within the parish, their integration into an encompassing architectural plan, and their conformance to an innovative decorative scheme. It is important not to underestimate the coloristic brilliance of mural decoration and the intense polychrome on the retables of these later chapels. Windows opened under the whitewash, and 18th-century drawings provide valuable evidence for the original ornamentation. Each chapel was founded and decorated by the choice of one donor family who now acquired perpetual and exclusive privileges unavailable to the tenants of chapels in the nave. St. Jacob's profited from its concentration of parish families who sought from the 1630s to the 1650s to exchange their wealth for noble status and political power. Each family paid for its greater privileges by conforming to a unified architectural and decorative plan that imposed order of the whole on component parts. These new architectural standards set the model for the further completion of decoration in the nave chapels. Low marble enclosures, for example, introduced in the ambulatory chapels, unified the nave chapels from 1626 to 1668 in a calculated perspective of open and lucid spaces. Nevertheless, the ambulatory chapels in

the less accessible east end of the church fenced off the exclusive preserve of the families that owned them, free from the pressure the churchwardens could apply to the nave chapels.

By 1785, St. Jacob's chapels, in nave and ambulatory, drew a symbolic border around the church, a necklace of jeweled charms, each beckoning visitors with painting and sculptures sited to attract the eye through figural gestures, colors, and flickers of light. Celebrations on dedication feast days set a rhythm of concentrated activity moving from one chapel to the next every calendar year, punctuated by endowed masses that would command attendance from the recipients of charity distributed on the occasion. Well-endowed chapels and chapels housing popular cults thrived. When their saints lost currency and no family legacy supported them, some chapels fell into neglect and turned to subventions from the parish to stay in good repair (see the chapel of St. Gertrudis, Appendix 1, no. 7). Other chapels (St. Roch, St. Anthony, St. Job, St. Ivo) were animated by the religious brotherhoods that chose them as the sites of their devotions. The next chapter traces the rise and fall of these diverse and ephemeral institutions that held St. Jacob's in a mutual embrace.

St. Jacob's Counter Reformation Confraternities

9.1 Introduction

On April 8, 1786, Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor and sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands, published an edict disbanding all religious brotherhoods in his territories. Brotherhoods, or confraternities, were voluntary associations of laity and clergy devoted to a particular religious purpose and affiliated with a church. These brotherhoods, the emperor proclaimed, had abandoned their original purpose of charity and proliferated endlessly for the sake of useless devotions. He ordered them to inventory and surrender their property and then to cease operation. In Antwerp seventy-four brotherhoods complied, their inventories now bound together as one thick volume in the City Archive. Joseph II hoped to replace the old confraternities with a new, universal brotherhood, dedicated to active neighborly love. Every parish would have a branch of the same organization.¹ The “enlightened emperor” recognized in the traditional confraternities a powerful impediment to change and the resort of entrenched interests who exercised control through the local institutions of the Catholic Church. It is the argument of this chapter that Joseph II was right. A close study of the nineteen confraternities founded in St. Jacob's between 1628 and 1759 (see below, Appendix 2) reveals that these ephemeral institutions played a key role in the Counter Reformation Church's strategy to strengthen parishes as the local centers of religion. The varied devotions of confraternities attracted different groups within the city and organized their responses to sudden crises and to the chronic problems of life, uniting religion and politics inseparably through a force of social cohesion. The second argument of this chapter is that each group projected its collective fervor onto a sacred object or place—a relic, an image, the consecrated host, the church itself—as the symbol held in common through which the confraternity defined its purpose and identity. Around this central object there unfolded a whole array of material things used by the brotherhoods to achieve their different goals. More of these things, distinctive

1 FAA K 1982 I: Edict van den Keyzer, Raekende de Afschaffing van de Broederschappen opperegert in de Kerken ende Kapellen welkdaenig die mogen wezen in dit Land, ende de opregting van een nieuw Broederschap onder de benoeming van de werkende liefde van den Even-Naesten, hebbende den Zaeligmaeker J.C. voor beschermenden Patroon. Van den 8. april 1786.

of the brotherhoods, survive in St. Jacob's than anywhere else and attest there to a vanished world of belief and belonging.

9.2 Conditions of Foundation

After the Spanish restoration in 1585 no quick attempt was made to revive the four brotherhoods ("guilds") that had been active in St. Jacob's during the 16th century before the decades of iconoclasm, rebellion, and Calvinist domination swept them away.² The first Counter Reformation brotherhood in St. Jacob's was founded more than forty years later, in 1628, and only three additional confraternities followed before 1672. Yet in the end more confraternities (nineteen) affiliated themselves with St. Jacob's than with any other Antwerp church, including the Cathedral.³ The notable delay and subsequent burst of activity conformed to the slow pace at which parishes developed during the first half of the century and then flourished after 1650 as the local centers of religion in the South Netherlands.⁴ As parishes reached sufficient strength, they assumed some of the responsibility carried earlier by the Jesuits and other regular orders. A big part of this change involved the increase of parish confraternities at the same time as Jesuit confraternities, or sodalities as they were called, entered a decline that started in the 1670s and continued into the 18th century.⁵ Until then Jesuit sodalities in Antwerp, housed in their magnificent sodality building, had captured the attention of the city's male elite and middle class, divided up by markers of identity—language, age, marital status, profession, degrees of education—into groups designed for maximum cohesion, all dedicated to an aspect of the Virgin Mary, trained in a rigorous

2 Claessens 1969, 33–34, lists the "guilds" of St. Jacob, the Blessed Sacrament, St. Roch, and St. Anthony as active in St. Jacob's during the 16th century. The Blessed Sacrament Guild revived but changed quickly into a chapel administration: see above, chapter 5.

3 For the fourteen Cathedral brotherhoods see Marinus 1993, 53–58.

4 Lottin 1984, 107, in his study of how the Church implemented the Counter Reformation in Lille through its diverse institutions, concludes that the secular clergy was in the end mediocre and played a secondary role. The great work of Christianization was accomplished primarily by the regular religious orders. Lottin, 116, describes an invasion of new religious orders into the city, animated by the profound faith and militant spirit of the Jesuits, Capuchins, Augustinians, and Discalced Carmelites. Marinus 1995, 153–180, charts exactly the same development in Antwerp, so that one can speak justifiably of a strategy for the whole Spanish Netherlands, centrally coordinated by the Spanish governors, papal nuncios, and bishops.

5 Châtellier 1989, 177–192.

program of devotion and moral correction with the intent to transform society through religion.

In chapter 3 I have argued that St. Jacob's directly competed with the Jesuits through two tactics. The churchwardens sued in 1657 to prevent the Jesuits from building a second Antwerp church that would divert support from the parish. At the same time the churchwardens invested heavily in the magnificent splendor of their church as a counter-measure to the dazzling attraction of the Antwerp Jesuit Church. At St. Jacob's until 1671 major financial resources were channeled to finishing construction and large-scale decoration.⁶ In fact, new construction and decoration gave the occasions to found the four confraternities affiliated with the church before 1672. After the mid-17th century, St. Jacob's investment in magnificence paid off when its newly won reputation as the city's most splendid church attracted the superabundance of confraternities who could have gone elsewhere.

In comparison with the Jesuit sodalities they gradually supplanted, St. Jacob's nineteen confraternities sprouted in a wild diversity, spun by chance, laying on light or heavy burdens of devotion, open exclusively to men in closed, elite brotherhoods and to thousands of women in less restricted devotions. That occasional and ephemeral character was real. In St. Jacob's the Brotherhood of St. Anthony offered protection against the plague until a brotherhood dedicated to the more powerful intercessor, St. Roch, eclipsed it.

Immediate crises could generate support for new confraternities. But it does not follow that they rose from grassroots. To the contrary, their reactive contingency made confraternities the flexible instruments of a system carefully built and maintained by Church, State, and city. Against late-medieval custom in the Netherlands where confraternities gained official recognition from their town governments, the Decrees of the Council Trent in 1563 asserted the right of bishops to visit brotherhoods and to demand a yearly accounting of finances. In 1604 Pope Clement VIII issued a bull that tightened episcopal control and wrote the canon law for confraternities. All new confraternities could establish themselves only with the bishop's approval, in conformance with the administrative structure, the rules, and the indulgences that he legislated.⁷

Several bishops' letters of approbation sent to new confraternities in St. Jacob's incorporate in their language the back and forth between contingency and patterned order. They repeatedly credit the humble petition of

6 See above, especially chapters 1–3.

7 Trio 1993, 74, 97, 340, on the foundation of late-medieval confraternities in Ghent; *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 157, Twenty-Second Session, Decree Concerning Reform, Chapters VIII–IX; Black 1989, 63.

devout parishioners with the desire to found a brotherhood and insist that all Catholics of both sexes should be free to join.⁸ These were convenient fictions that maintained the spontaneous origin and open spirit of the brotherhoods. In fact, brotherhoods determined their own numbers and social character by sorting themselves out into three generic types: small, elite, almost always exclusively male, usually with less than 100 members; middle-sized, of both sexes, and more socially mixed; mass, enrolling a thousand, and sometimes many thousands.⁹ Each group's purpose would determine its size. Geographical reach extended from local gatherings in the parish, to citywide and regional branches of international networks officially recognized by the Catholic Church as "arch-confraternities." And, even though parishioners often did "humbly" request permission from the bishop to found a brotherhood, these letters actually were the end products of calculated sequences that arranged the circumstances from which new devotions could emerge.

Invariably, brotherhoods could organize only if they found a place to gather and sacred objects to worship. For a significant number of confraternities in St. Jacob's, places and things furnished not only the conditions necessary for their operation, but much more, the immediate inducements to found brotherhoods or to house them in this particular church (fig. 9.1). The first Counter Reformation brotherhood founded in St. Jacob's, dedicated to St. Anthony, was established in 1628 only after the pastor, Van der Gouwen, encouraged the potential for collective action demonstrated by eminent parishioners who had donated a marble enclosure to the saint's chapel in 1626–1627, each contributing a brass baluster with his or her name inscribed, a response to the new outbreak of plague in 1624, to the heritage of the late-medieval guild active in the chapel until 1566, to the restoration of the chapel in the 1590s, and to the broader campaign for decorating the westernmost nave chapels during the late 1620s.¹⁰ Likewise, the brotherhood of Antwerp's legal profession, founded and dedicated in 1630 to St. Ivo, transferred their religious services from the high altar of the Beggarden Church, the order of their patron saint, to St. Jacob's

8 Some examples are RAAKASJA (old number 560), 799, 6d bylage, letter from Joannes Malderus, bishop of Antwerp, Jan. 4, 1628, approving foundation of the Brotherhood of St. Anthony; *Instellinge ende Onderwijsinghe van Het Broederschap van den H. Rochus* 1658, letter from Ambrosius Capello, bishop of Antwerp, Aug. 12, 1658, approving foundation of the Brotherhood of St. Roch; *Het Leven van den H. Donatus* 1759, letter from Henricus Gabriel, bishop of Antwerp, Aug. 8, 1759, approving foundation of the Brotherhood of St. Donatus.

9 See Appendix 2.

10 See above, chapter 8.

in 1637. This move depended solely on the invitation tendered by one of their colleagues, Laurentius Biel, who offered to share his newly built chapel in the ambulatory, dedicated in consequence to St. Ivo and decorated with Gerard Segher's altarpiece of the patron saint dispensing legal aid to children, widows, and the poor (fig. 9.2).¹¹ Completion of St. Jacob's high choir in 1642 fashioned a new setting judged worthy by the bishop to house the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Christian Slaves, inaugurated there in 1643.¹² St. Roch's Brotherhood organized in 1658 only after its leader Alexander Balthasar Roelants gained control of the saint's chapel by promising to contribute a beautiful new marble altar retable (see above, fig. 8.61).¹³ In 1674 the Confraternity of the Virgin of Sorrow was founded to institutionalize veneration of a wooden, polychrome image of Mary with the Body of Christ in Her Lap, "exalted" in the Our Lady Chapel and the object of a coordinated program of worship since 1650 (see above, fig. 6.2).¹⁴ Following a similar pattern, the elite confraternity dedicated in 1753 to St. John Nepomucenus centered its devotions on the cult of a saint first systematically disseminated by the Jesuits throughout Europe and in the Antwerp Jesuit Church, and then introduced methodically and competitively by St. Jacob's churchwardens in 1740, with Laurys Gillis's life-size white marble sculpture displayed in the north aisle of the nave, reinforced by thousands of devotional prints distributed each year, indulgences obtained for those who worshipped the saint, a temporary altar set up in front of the image on his feast day, and the acquisition of relics approved by bishop and pope in 1751 (fig. 9.3).¹⁵

In that same year the artisans who regularly maintained St. Jacob's banded together in their Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning to form a kind of volunteer fire brigade that protected the church, the source of their livelihood. One rule bound the ten original members; St. Jacob's' bell-ringer, carpenter, stonecutter, mason, locksmith, wall painter, glazier, roofer, plumber, and factotum. They agreed to assemble and watch over the church whenever, day or night, a thunderstorm threatened to burn down St. Jacob's the way that in

11 See Appendix 2, and above, chapter 8.

12 See Appendix 2.

13 See above, chapter 8.

14 See above, chapter 6.

15 RAAKASJA B.82, Grooten Boeck der Confrerie van den Heylighen Jowannes Nepomucenus, transcription of the letter sent on May 3, 1753, to the bishop of Antwerp requesting permission to found the brotherhood, citing the sculpture, relics, and popularity of the cult as precedents.

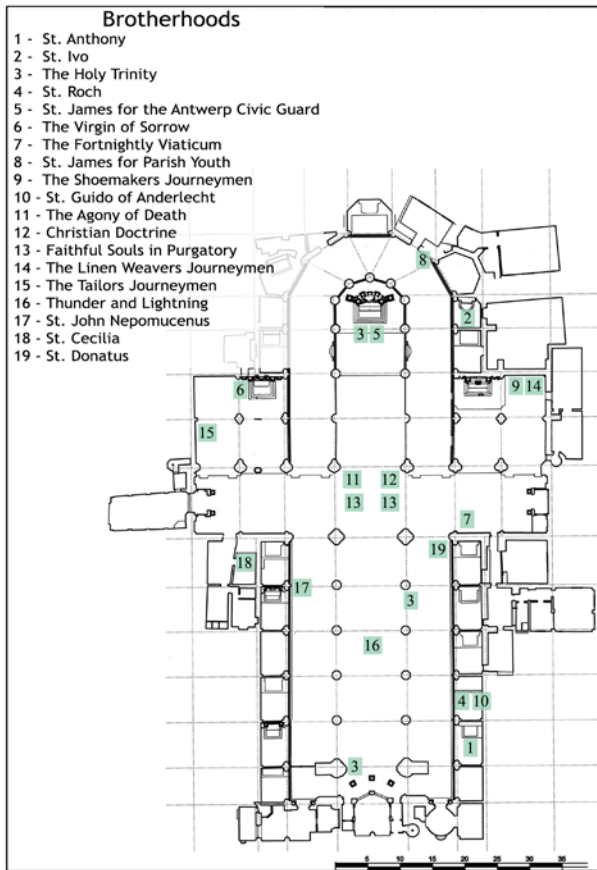


FIGURE 9.1 *Plan of St. Jacob's marking locations of brotherhoods in the church.*

SUPERIMPOSED COMPUTER GRAPHICS: ANANDAN
AMIRTHANAYAGAM.

1718 lightning had ignited a devastating fire in the Antwerp Jesuit Church.¹⁶ St. Jacob's itself became the object of devotion. In 1759, after the church acquired a relic of St. Donatus, intercessor against destruction from thunder and lightning, a mass brotherhood dedicated to the cult of that saint (also

16 RAAKASJA B.85, Reglement ende verbintenis der hier onder staende Confreers von Donder en Blixem, Het welcke is goedt-gekeurt ende bevestight door dese vier hier nevenstaende Heeren ende Diende Kerck-meesters der Parochiale ende colegiale Kercke van s. Jacob Binnen Antwerpen Den 8 Augut 1751, rule ix.



FIGURE 9.2 Detail of fig. 8.43, Gerard Seghers, altarpiece of the Biel/St. Ivo Chapel; St. Ivo as advocate for the poor, orphans, and widows.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.3 *Laurys Gillis. St. John Nepomucenus, 1740.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

disseminated by the Jesuits) superseded the tiny artisans' Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning (fig. 9.4).¹⁷

But this brotherhood was the last to be founded in St. Jacob's before the reorganization of the Catholic Church in the 19th century. I will argue in chapter 10 that the two confraternities established in the 1750s, for St. Joannes Nepomucenus in 1753 and for St. Donatus in 1759, were founded in opposition to policies of the Austrian-Hapsburg State that now worked to contain the independent power of the Catholic Church within the confines of the worldly government.

9.3 A Surrogate Court of the King of Spain

Varied locations, images, and signs defined the purposes of many confraternities, even if a confraternity did not owe its origin to a particular place or object. Most conspicuously, when the captains and officers of Antwerp's civic guard attended the inauguration of their St. James Brotherhood in the choir of St. Jacob's on April 18, 1672, they were surrounded by an elaborate tableau representing the Hapsburg union of Church and State for which they were expected to fight in defense of their city against an imminent invasion by the armies of Louis XIV (see below). On the high altar a temporary picture depicted St. James, patron of the confraternity, parish church, and Spain, riding victoriously, trampling the "Saracens" underfoot. To the left of the altar on the more sacred Gospel side, a replica of the royal throne was occupied by a picture "representing our king Charles II," paired on the right side of the altar with a picture of the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, the Count of Monterey. Inscriptions in praise of the governor hung from columns on either side of the choir. A decorative arrangement of more than forty banners around the choir displayed the insignia of the civic guard, the governor, the bishop of Antwerp, and the city's burgomasters. In a second picture, set over the rood-screen and facing inwards towards the altar, St. James appeared again in his military aspect, brandishing a sword to complete the surrogate court of sovereign and divine authorities.¹⁸ As real Hapsburg power weakened in the South Netherlands, no expense was spared to construct a fictive representation of its strength meant to persuade the new brotherhood of the civic guard to take up arms on its behalf.

17 See Appendix 2, no. 19.

18 RAAKASJA (old number 136/90/1).



FIGURE 9.4 *Jozef Gillis. Reliquary of St. Donatus in black marble and white stone, 1760, intended as pedestal for the image that was carved only in 1831 by Jan Baptist van Hool the Elder.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

9.4 The Most Privileged Brotherhood and Its Signs

Access to St. Jacob's choir conferred extraordinary status in a hierarchy measured by proximity to the high altar. From the moment when completion of the choir vaults in 1642 invited installation there of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood, the history of the new confraternity was bound up inextricably with the development of the choir space. St. Jacob's new pastor, Franciscus van den Bossche, nurtured this union. He solicited the Trinity Brotherhood for his church, and then fostered its growth, which he recorded in a chronicle animated by fervent personal conviction. At the same time this chronicle repeated the conventional triumphant rhetoric of the Catholic Church, in which every feast day sees a glorious outpouring of devotion. Most relevant for the argument of this chapter, Van den Bossche presented the location of the choir and the works of art in it as the media through which the parish community drew progressively closer to the devotions of the brotherhood.

This understanding shaped Van den Bossche's account of the Trinity Confraternity's first anniversary, celebrated in 1644. St. Jacob's, he said, was taxed so heavily by the cost of vaulting its choir and the chapels behind (Vincque and Rubens) that the church could not afford ornaments beautiful enough for the high altar. Syndics of the brotherhood persuaded merchants to contribute in the name of the Trinity. A public collection among "the gracious and munificent people" tapped the enthusiasm. Together the community donated enough to pay for two altar frontals (antependia) of silk and gold cloth, a finely carved and gilded wooden tabernacle to display the consecrated host and, to glorify the tabernacle, a canopy composed artfully of silk flowers, "a work the like of which has not been seen." Parishioners united in their generosity. But they were enraptured in collective adoration even more compellingly by the sheer beauty of the ornaments for which they had paid: "One could hardly believe, with how much pleasure and ardor the altar—bedecked with these our ornaments and conspicuous with so unusual a tabernacle in its throne [a sculptural decorative frame]—is regarded with wonder, so that the people feasted their eyes and hardly were able to satiate their hearts by gazing on it."¹⁹

19 RAAKASJA B.39, *Institutionem huius Archisodalitatis sollicitavit, procuravit, et promovit Franciscus Vanden Bossche Bruxellensis, Pastor Ecclesiae S. Jacobi, teriti anno suae residentiae. Qui & haec Chronica collegit, et descripsit*, 28–30, anniversary celebrated on the second Sunday in May, 1644: Hoc tempore, quia summum Altare nulla prorsus habebat ornamenta, nec spes ea impetrandi supererat ab ecclesia, aere alieno maxime gravata propter nuperrimam Chori fornicationem, ut a fundamentis exaedificationem Sacristis

Van den Bossche evoked the sense of sight as a source of wonder. Ornaments purchased through collective generosity, fashioned with consummate artistry, displayed on the high altar, now captured and pulled to them the eyes of the faithful whose belief was augmented by what they saw that filled their hearts. In an upward spiral, works of art animated the spiritual life of the Confraternity and of the parish.

That cycle of mutual reinforcement intensified during the second half of the 17th century as the Trinity Brotherhood collaborated with the collegiate chapter and a succession of wealthy donors to embellish the choir and high altar. It reached a climax in the powerful figural group and the all-seeing eye of the Trinity looking down from the crown of the new retable carved 1684–1685 by Artus Quellinus the Younger (see above, figs. 3.30 and 3.35). I already have described A.J. De Crepü's 1740 watercolor in which Christian slaves freed by the brotherhood kneel in front of the high altar and mirror the ecstatic gesture of St. James rising in glory (see above, fig. 3.40).²⁰

Ornamentation of the high altar fulfilled one stated purpose of the brotherhood, to worship the Holy Trinity. The confraternity's second goal, to free Christians enslaved by Muslims, required a different kind of sign. I have argued that the churchwardens reserved the public areas of the church for parish use and protected these spaces from the intrusion of private interests and clutter. But they made significant exceptions for the Trinity Brotherhood who were permitted to hang a painting and sculpture in the nave, above collection boxes, where they could attract donations that would be handed over to the

choralis, ut aliquot sacellorum etiamnum imperfectorum retro eundem chorum; Decreverunt D.D. Syndici Confraternitatis Collectam insti-[30] tuere, et deposito rubore, privatim singulos mercatores, accedere, eosque inducere ad liberalem aliquam eleemosinam, contribuendam in nomine Sanctissimi Trinitatis, ad opus ornamentorum dicti altaris. quod ex voto successit. collectis ex gratiosa populi munificentia, sexcentis circiter florenis: quibus Summa maiore, ex aerario Confraternitatis addita, duo Antipendia, ex panno auro-serico albo, fueri curarunt, inferiori ac superiori eiusdem Altaris fronti proportionata. et caetera ad haec pertinentia.

Curarunt praeterea fieri Tabernaculum novum, (sub quo, in eodem Altari, venerabile Sacramentum publice, totoque die exponeretur adorandum, omnibus Confraternitatis festivitibus) fabricatum ex quatuor columnis Ligneis, affabre sculptis et nitidissime deauratis: quibus conopaeum incumbit ex sericis floribus artificiose contextum, constructumque. opus, cui simile hactenus nullibi visum. Vix credere quispiam posset, quanta cum voluptate et ardore, altare nobis his ornamentis indutum, et tabernaculo tam in solio conspicuum, populus admiratur conspexerit et tuendo satiare vix corda potuerit.

20 See above, chapter 3.

Trinitarian Order, whose special mission it was to negotiate the release and pay ransoms for the Christians held captive in North Africa.

The sculpture came first, installed by 1653 against the transept pillar on the south side of the nave, facing west.²¹ It is in fact an eye-catching multimedia assemblage, incorporating on top two fine white marble reliefs, framed in black, decorated around with gilded angels and eagles. A three-armed copper, silvered candelabra projects forward below the reliefs. Beneath that three paintings, now lost but visible in Isaac Nickel's view of c.1672, sheathed the column over the collection box (fig. 9.5; fig. 9.1, no. 3, for location).²² The Trinity is evident in the uppermost relief, but the figures below are more cryptic. An angel stands over a group of slaves, holding the ends of their chains in his hands crossed one over the other, in a depiction of the vision that inspired St. Joannes de Matta in 1198 to found the Trinitarian Order with the express purpose of mediating the exchange to free Christian and Muslim slaves (fig. 9.6).²³ At St. Jacob's, more than half a century later in 1709, the Trinity Brotherhood installed a second image in the nave, a picture by Jacob de Roore on a canvas, custom-made to curve around the westernmost pillar of the north aisle, positioned, like the relief, over a box for offerings (fig. 9.7. See above, fig. 3.37, for a visual record of this picture's location above a collection box in 1716. See fig. 9.1, no. 3 at bottom for the location on a plan of the church). It depicts exactly what donors would get for their money; a Trinitarian who negotiates with the pasha of Algiers to redeem Christian slaves languishing below in captivity. From the top right corner the Trinity looks on approvingly.

A massive information campaign disseminated the message of both these images. The story of St. Joannes de Matta and the Trinitarians was told in hand-

21 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 677. Van Lerijs transcribed the original, lost inscription above the relief: *sanCtæ InDIVIDUæ trInItatI/ patrI IngenItO/ fIlIo UnIgenItO/ splrItUI paraCLItO/ UnI Deo.*

22 FAA K 1980: on cover: *Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786*, f.136v–145v: No. 44: June 1, 1786: *Inventaris van alle welk daenige goederen inkomsten en lasten van het arts Broederschap van de alder Hste. Dryvuldigheyd gestigt inde vermaerde Collegiale ende parochiale kerke van St. Jacobs binnen Antwerpen*, f.140v: “een marberen beeld of barilie verbeeldende de H: Dryvuldigheyd met de dry schilderykens, of offerblocken daer onderstaende tegens de pilaer van den grooten beuk aen s: jans capel./ eenen koperen blaeker met dry armen hangende voor hett voorschreven beld./ Eene eysere croon waer op gestelt wort het geoffert ligt./ dry houten banken staende voor het voorschreven beld./ een tafel met een tapeyt waer op de offer schotel stondt/ Item een kopere offer schotel met twee kopere kandelaeren.” The three pictures, now lost, are depicted by Isaac Nickel in his c.1672 view of St. Jacob's; see Baisier 2008, I, 155–158.

23 See Van den Bossche 1647, 41–55, for the explanation of this iconography.



FIGURE 9.5 *Relief of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood with the Trinity above and an angel exchanging slaves below.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

books distributed to the many thousands who joined the Trinity Confraternity, repeated in devotional engravings printed by the thousands each year, and also displayed in a street sculpture prominently located (1756), like a totem, to face everyone who entered Antwerp's busiest land-gate, the Kipdorp Gate, at the head of the two main thoroughfares leading into the heart of St. Jacob's parish,



FIGURE 9.6 *Detail of fig. 9.5; St. Joannes de Matta's vision of an angel exchanging slaves.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

and to the center of the city (fig. 9.8. Trinity Brotherhood Relief at the Kipdorp Gate. 1756; fig. 9.9. Detail of fig. 9.8).²⁴ Mediating to the people of Antwerp so volatile an issue as Muslim enslavement of Christians, the brotherhood's signs combined religious and political messages in a potent mix that I will discuss further on.

9.5 Professional Brotherhoods: Between Guild and Confraternity in Marginal Locations

The Trinity Brotherhood and other confraternities, officially recognized by the bishop, controlled or shared chapels and important altars in the church. But several professional brotherhoods of journeymen and tradesmen, more informally organized, enjoyed fewer privileges, and squeezed themselves into corners where nothing more than the relics of their patron saints or a name plaque marked their presence. The Tailors Journeymen, in 1734, collected donations from some forty shops throughout the city, to pay sculptor Jan-Baptista Woens who carved a “tomb” reliquary for the

²⁴ Nancy Kay kindly informed me about the date of this image.



FIGURE 9.7 *Jacob De Roore. Trinitarians Negotiating with the Pasha of Algiers to Ransom Christian Slaves.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 9.8 *Trinity Brotherhood relief at the Kipdorp Gate, 1756.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.9 *Detail of fig. 9.8.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

precious remains of their patron, St. Boniface. After negotiating an agreement with the chapel wardens of the Our Lady Chapel, they displayed the relics in a case on the chapel's north wall (fig. 9.10. See fig. 9.1, no. 15, for this location). In 1738 the Brotherhood of the Shoemakers Journeymen displayed relics of their saints Crispin and Crispinian in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel. They were followed by journeymen linen weavers who located relics of St. Severus in the same chapel (1767; fig. 9.11. Reliquary of St. Severus. See fig. 9.1, nos. 9 and 14 for the locations of these relics).²⁵ Starting in 1760 the Coachmen of St. Guido received permission to display a name plaque (catalog) in the chapel of St. Roch (see fig. 9.1, no. 10, for this location).²⁶ And the unique trace of a confraternity dedicated to St. Cecilia was recorded in a 1756 agreement with the churchwardens who permitted the brotherhood to set out their relic of Cecilia during services on the saint's feast day, and promised to keep it safe in the churchwardens' chamber.²⁷ Journeymen musicians could have founded this brotherhood, just like other journeymen brotherhoods affiliated with

²⁵ See Appendix 2, nos. 15, 9, and 14.

²⁶ RAAKASJA B.48/28, Jan. 27, 1760.

²⁷ See Appendix 2, no. 18.



FIGURE 9.10
Jan-Baptist Woens. Reliquary of St. Boniface.
KIK M044911.



FIGURE 9.11 *Reliquary of St. Severus.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

St. Jacob's. All of these confraternities generated greatest excitement among their members and recognition from the larger community through the acquisition, episcopal authentication, processional exaltation, and display in a prominent location of their precious relics.

9.6 A History of Sacred Objects Used by Brotherhoods

In addition to the relics, sculptures, and pictures at the center of their devotions, each Counter Reformation brotherhood in Antwerp also acquired a repertoire of ornaments that gained currency as the shared signs of confraternity. Banners woven and embroidered in rich textiles, name tablets (catalogs) decorated with painting and sculpture, a late efflorescence of manuscript illumination in expensively bound volumes, mass editions of devotional engravings and the copper plates they were made from, illustrated printed handbooks with rules and prayers, silver badges to slip on processional torches, canopies supported by silver poles, the archives themselves—the confraternities proudly assembled all these things. More of them survive together in St. Jacob's than anywhere else.

Further, the seventy-two inventories of Antwerp confraternities drawn up in 1786 establish a basis for broader comparison between St. Jacob's confraternities and those brotherhoods housed in other churches throughout the city. Because the brotherhoods first listed their assets and debits, it also is possible to measure the kind of ornaments they owned in relation to their comparative wealth. Assets included real estate, interest-bearing investments, cash, and moveable goods in the form of ornaments, utensils, and archives. Debts recorded mortgages on real estate, obligations to pay for memorial masses, and unpaid expenses. With some notable exceptions, Antwerp's brotherhoods possessed little or no real estate and capital. Most income was generated from annual dues and contributions. Only eleven of the brotherhoods could draw on investments over 1,000 guilders, and there is a clear pattern separating them from the other brotherhoods. Three of these wealthy brotherhoods affiliated themselves with the Cathedral, and three with St. Jacob's. Among the others, one was founded by a rich donor, two were dedicated to the souls in purgatory who required frequent endowed masses, one attracted donations to pay for an eternal light in front of the image of Christ on the Calvary in the churchyard of the St. Joris parish church, and the last gained support for its mission to lodge indigent pilgrims at the St. Julian Hospice.²⁸ St. Jacob's Arch-Confraternity of

28 FAA K 1980: on cover: *Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786*: f.16r. Brotherhood of the Holy Circumcision, Antwerp Cathedral;

the Holy Trinity, by far the wealthiest, employed a capital of more than 90,000 guilders to accomplish its purpose of ransoming Christians held as slaves in North Africa.

Only the greatest wealth correlated with extraordinary collections of art and sacred objects. St. Jacob's' Brotherhood of the Trinity and the Cathedral's Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, with its capital of 33,188 guilders, accumulated rich stores of priestly vestments and liturgical silver beyond what the other brotherhoods could afford.²⁹ Confraternities that disposed of modest incomes almost always owned some luxury objects, such as silver candlesticks or altar cloths cut from fine textile, but in many cases brotherhoods with no capital at all acquired the same things through gifts or extraordinary purchases.

It is much more striking that the majority of Antwerp's brotherhoods owned a core group of objects that marked their places in the community, served as the collective memories of their histories, and publicized their devotions to a wider circle. Out of the seventy-two brotherhoods, the inventories record that thirty-three published their own devotional prints (46%), thirty-eight owned lavishly bound illuminated manuscripts (53%), forty-one used silver or lead badges to decorate torches carried in procession (58%), forty-four displayed in their churches carved and painted wooden tablets (catalogs) with slots for the names of members and officers (62%), and fifty-two carried processional banners embroidered with figures of their devotion and decorated with silver crosses (73%). The competitive nature of these acquisitions also suggests the public and citywide system of display in which the confraternities participated. Archives maintained by almost every brotherhood (69% recorded) included documents such as membership lists, papal and episcopal charters, and bulls of indulgence, the symbolic importance of which transformed them into objects of quasi-sacred character. Because Emperor Joseph II intended in 1786 to confiscate all property, the brotherhoods reported as little as they could

f.38v. Brotherhood of the Viaticum, Antwerp Cathedral South Quarter; f.91v.92r., Brotherhood of the Viaticum, St. Jacob's; f.114r.–117v., Brotherhood of Our Lady of Loreto at St. Julian's Hospice; f.131v., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, St. Jacob's; f.136v.–139r., Arch-Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity for Redemption of Christian Slaves, St. Jacob's; f.146r.–149v., Brotherhood of the Holy Scapular, Carmelite Church; f.213r., Brotherhood of the Holy Cross, St. Joris Parish Church; f.215v., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, St. Joris Parish Church; f.226r.–230r., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, Antwerp Cathedral; f.249r.–f.249v., Faithful Souls, Augustinian Church; f.252r.–253v., Brotherhood of the Holy Circumcision, capital donated to the city administration for poor relief, Antwerp Cathedral.

29 RAAKASJA 1170, March 23–April 1709 inventory of the chapter sacristy which included property of St. Jacob's Trinity Brotherhood, f.7v.–f.8v.; FAA K 1980: on cover: *Inventarissen der vernietighe Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786*, f.230v.–233r., inventory of moveable goods owned by the Cathedral Brotherhood of Faithful Souls.

and, whenever possible, escaped by legal maneuver, claiming that what they owned actually belonged to the church or chapel, or to an individual member. The inventories therefore represent a bare minimum of the brotherhoods' possessions. Certain kinds of object may simply not have been on hand in 1786, and therefore, not recorded. Although only fourteen inventories list the pocket-size booklets of rules, prayers, and saints' lives—often illustrated—which brotherhoods distributed to members, surviving copies demonstrate that most brotherhoods used them.

In their collections of art and sacred objects, Antwerp's Counter Reformation brotherhoods apparently revived or continued the practices observed by brotherhoods during the late-Middle Ages and into the 16th century, before the forces of Reformation and rebellion disrupted the continuity of Catholic religion in the "time of troubles" between 1566 and 1585. Sparse documentation from Ghent and Antwerp indicates that an image or relic of their patron saint was equally important for the earlier brotherhoods, that they also carried banners, published booklets of rules and prayers, inscribed their names in expensively decorated books, owned benches and chairs reserved for the directors, ornamented the mass at their altar with silver liturgical vessels and fine priestly garments.³⁰ Decorated name tablets (catalogs), mass-produced devotional prints, and silver shields for torches apparently were new to the brotherhoods founded or revived in the Netherlands after 1585.

Antwerp's Counter Reformation brotherhoods held their constellation of symbolic objects in common, not only with brotherhoods of the South Netherlands, but also with their counterparts in 15th- and 16th-century Florence. Images and relics of their patron saints, ornaments and liturgical cloths for their altars, procession banners, directors' benches, pamphlets printed for members, illuminated rule books, name tablets (catalogs), and separate archives furnished the normal equipment of brotherhoods in early modern Florence.³¹ I would guess that brotherhoods throughout Western Europe from the late-Middle Ages to the French Revolution repeated the same traditions.

As Table 9.1 demonstrates, the ten brotherhoods included from St. Jacob's conformed to the larger pattern set by all seventy-two inventories made in 1786. To judge by the more fragmentary evidence available for Kortrijk, this agreement extended to Counter Reformation brotherhoods throughout the South Netherlands.³²

30 Trio 1993, 134–138 (robes and badges), 248–250 (altars, altarpieces, relics, banners, directors' benches), 260–264 (expenditures for ornaments).

31 Sebregondi 1991, 144–152.

32 Defoort 1986, 87–133.

TABLE 9.1 *Capital, ornaments, and archives listed in inventories submitted to the City of Antwerp in 1786 by eleven brotherhoods affiliated with St. Jacob's [note that the Holy Trinity Brotherhood submitted two inventories, the first of the devotional brotherhood limited to St. Jacob's, and the second of the St. Jacob's branch of the Arch-Confraternity dedicated to freeing Christian slaves from captivity]*³³

Inv. No. and name	Capital in guilders	Standard	Catalogs	Print Books	Booklets	Prints and Plates
1 doodstrijd	580	X	X			X
2 St. Roch	0	X	X			
5 St. J. Nepomucenus	0					
12 Bedr.Moeder	0	X	X	X	X	X
23 St. Donatus	0			X	X	X
34 Berechtinge	1,996	X	X	X		X
38 St. Jacob	0	X	X			
42 Gelovige Ziel	2,500	X	X			
43 H Drievuldigheid	300	X	X	X	X	X
44 H Drievuligheid archconfraternity	90,072	X				X
64 Chr. Ler.	0	X				X
St. Jacobs		82%	64%	45%	27%	64%
Antwerp		73%	62%	53%	14%	46%

Inv. No. and name	Altar ornaments	Vestments	Badges	Torches	Image or Relic	Archives
1 doodstrijd			X	X	X	X
2 St. Roch			X	X	X	X
5 St. J. Nepomucenus						
12 Bedr.Moeder	X		X	X	X	X
23 St. Donatus	X			X	X	X
34 Berechtinge	X		X	X		X
38 St. Jacob	X		X		X	
42 Gelovige Ziele	X	X		X	X	X
43 H Drievuldigheid	X	X	X	X	X	
44 H Drievuldigheid Arch confraternity	X	X		X	X	X
64 Chr. Ler.			X	X	X	X
St. Jacobs	64%	27%	64%	73%	82%	82%
All Antwerp	71%	33%	58%	68%	70%	68%

33 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786.

This repertoire of symbolic objects has been ignored to the degree that it is necessary, first, to describe and classify the typical characteristics of the several kinds I have chosen as most representative. The one exception concerns devotional prints, on which A.K. Thijs has provided an excellent history of production and use.³⁴ Only after I have established this material history of the brotherhoods, will I be able to reconstruct the uses of the objects within the context of rites and ceremonies. At this stage it will be in the details that I can demonstrate how the particular social value of these objects varied greatly according the purposes and audiences of each brotherhood.

9.7 Brotherhood Banners: “vaenen”

Confraternities invested most symbolic value in their banners (“vaenen” as they were called). They were the most commonly owned objects among Antwerp’s seventy-two confraternities (by at least 73% of the seventy-two Antwerp brotherhoods and 82% of the St. Jacob’s brotherhoods inventoried in 1786), and they were the most costly. Corporate groups such as civic militias and guilds carried banners to mark their places in communal processions. Clergy carried portable crosses at the head of processions.³⁵ The vivid descriptions in the inventories of 1786 indicate that brotherhood banners combined the corporate and sacred traditions.

Most of the inventories mention two separate items. First comes the banner itself, made of precious textile—often silk, silk damask, or gold cloth. Second is the cross on top, either of silver or of wood silvered or gilded. Many inventories also include the pole on which the banner and cross were carried. Additional ornaments fashioned in the same materials often embellished the cross—frequently two angel’s heads or silver balls, although the iconography could fit the brotherhood’s devotion. Death’s-heads adorned the cross for the banner owned by the Brotherhood of Faithful Souls affiliated with the Augustinian Church in Antwerp and captive Turks hung defeated below the cross carried by the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Victory.³⁶ Different colors of red,

34 Thijs 1993.

35 Lesage 1960, 26–27.

36 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, f.32v., Brotherhood of the Viaticum in the St. Walburgis Church: Twee silvere Engelskoppen gedient hebbende tot de twee hoecken van de vaen; f.52v., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, Augustinian Church: Het broederschap besit een silveren cruys met vergulde straelen staende op de vaen/ hebbende 2 silv. Quispels/tween silvere doodts hoofden op de selve; f.177v., Brotherhood of Mary of Succor and Victory, St. Andries Church: Een silveren cruys met twee ditto gevangene turken daer onder, diende voor de vaen.

blue, gold, or purple could symbolize the group's devotion; red often representing brotherhoods associated with Christ's sacrifice, blue appearing among the colors of Mary, and purple used most often by brotherhoods dedicated to souls in purgatory.³⁷ Some brotherhoods owned two banners that could be in alternate colors, a best and ordinary, or a new and old. Many banners were embroidered with gold or silver thread at the edges and in fringes. Fancy tassels hung from some. A few banners were decorated with the appropriate images or inscriptions. For example, no. 63 in the inventories, of the Blessed Sacrament Brotherhood in the parish church of St. Andries, records "a red silk damask banner representing the Sacrament on both sides," and a second "red silk damask banner with a cartouche embroidered in gold braid representing on the one side the Sacrament and on the other the Lamb of God." Flames embroidered in gold burned up against a purple ground on the banner carried by the Cathedral's brotherhood for souls in purgatory (71), and in St. Andries (54) the brotherhood dedicated to Our Lady of Succor and Victory owned a new banner of blue silk with an embroidered image of Mary and an old one with Mary's image painted on.

Earlier inventory descriptions and the rare surviving examples suggest that all the components, materials, and ornaments of brotherhood banners remained constant from the early 17th century to 1786.³⁸ Although banners

37 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, f.32v., Brotherhood of the Viaticum, St. Walburgis Church: Eene roode damaste vaene met goud geborduert, met goude galonnen ende frenien; f.78r., Brotherhood of the Holy Name of Jesus, Dominican Church: Item eene roode vaene met goud geborduert; f.207r., Brotherhood of the Viaticum, St. Andries Church: een roode seyde damaste vaen met den stok representerende langhs wedersyden het venerabel; f.213v., Brotherhood of the Holy Cross, St. Joris Church: eene roode seyde vaen met een vergult Cruys en twee engels koppen; f.74r., Brotherhood of the Holy Rosary, Dominican Church: Een ditto blauw seyde geschildert met den stock en blecken cieraet, en 2 silvere bollen; f.119r., Brotherhood of Our Lady of Loreto, St. Julian Hospice: een blauw zeyde vaen; f.150v., Brotherhood of the Holy Scapular (dispensed by Mary), Carmelite Church: 6, Item een blauw damaste vaen; f.177v., Brotherhood of Mary of Succor and Victory: Een blauw seyde vaen met geborduert maria beeld, goude borduersels en quispels; f.52v., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, Augustinian Church: eenen vaen van purperen damaste met silvere galonnen beset; f.132r. Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, St. Jacob's: Eene purpere seyde damaste geborduerde vaen, met eenigen overschot en goude galonne en frennien dier, met een silvere cruys ende toebehoorten; f.216v., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, St. Joris Church: Een purpere geborduerde vaen met silveren beslagen Cruys en twee bollen.

38 Leemans 1972, 453.

also were a regular item among the possessions of late-medieval brotherhoods, the inventory descriptions are noticeably more perfunctory before 1600, which may suggest that during the Counter Reformation the importance of the banners increased and that more money was lavished on them.³⁹

Brotherhood banners combined the processional cross and cloth banner, denoting first, as Joannes Molanus observed, Christ's victory.⁴⁰ In many pictures of the resurrection Christ triumphantly raises his red banner attached to the processional cross. Records of brotherhood banners at St. Jacob's, starting from the earliest in 1643, describe a cloth standard with the insignia of the confraternity hung on a cross.⁴¹

No Counter Reformation brotherhood banners survive from St. Jacob's. But a design drawing can be matched with archival texts to reconstruct the series of choices, expense, and separation of labor among different crafts required to produce a new banner in 1771 for the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother (fig. 9.12). Pasted in at the end of the brotherhood's membership roster, a memorandum introduces the drawing as the "model" for a new embroidered banner made in 1771 during the prefecture of Jacobus Coeckx, carried for the first time in procession on Palm Sunday of that year, and costing 1,862 guilders.⁴² These costs were itemized as a separate and extraordinary expense in the

39 See Trio 1993, 250, who observes that their appearance is unknown apart from color. See also the spare entry on banners in the 1439 inventory of St. Janskerk, now St. Bavos, Ghent: Dhanens 1983, 118, no. 150, in contrast to much more descriptive entries for other kinds of liturgical cloths.

40 Molanus 1771, 139: "Vexillum, quod Cruci Christi apponitur, ad significandam victoriam ejus."

41 RAAKASJA B.39, Institutionem huius Archisodalitatis sollicitavit, procuravit, et promovit Franciscus Vanden Bossche Bruxellensis, Pastor Ecclesiae S. Jacobi, teriti anno suae residentiae. Qui & haec Chronica collegit, et descripsit. [17] Annus primus Confraternitatis ss. Trinitatis seu Redemptionis captivorum 1643. Erection of the Brotherhood by Nemius April 12, 1643: Post sacrum facta est solemnissima Processio, per plateas sancti Jacobi Kipdorpensem, nominis Jesu, Meranam, sancte Clarae, Longo-novam, Markgravi-[19] anam, Kipdorpensem rursum et sancti Jacobi. Praeferebat iis Vexillum Cruci appensum, proprium Confraternitati insigne, generosus ac nobilissimus Dominus D. Simon Rodriguez Devora, Baro de Rhodes, etc. duobus aliis nobilibus viris, hinc inde sericos eisdem vexilli funiculas manu tenentibus.

42 RAAKASJA B.53, 99, pen and ink with grey wash: 24.4 × 41.4 cm: signed Frans Coeckx fecit, thus St. Jacob's wall painter, member of the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning, whose printbook he illuminated, possibly brother of Jacobus Coeckx, the prefect of the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother who coordinated production of the banner.



FIGURE 9.12 *Franciscus [Frans] Coeckx. Design for banner of the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother. RAAKASJA.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

brotherhood's accounts for 1771–72. Far exceeding the average annual income from members' contributions, most of the sum for the banner was raised by calling in outstanding debts. The lion's share—1,043 guilders—went to “sieur Faes for embroidering and assembling the banner and reimbursement for gold and silk and linen.” Five different craftsmen were paid for the material, border fringe, braid, pole, and tassels which Faes put together.⁴³

The designer, Franciscus [Frans] Coeckx, divided his drawing down the middle, offering two choices for the ornamental details, as model drawings often did. But the major elements were fixed in the center: Mary's initials from which hangs her burning heart pierced by a sword, a surrounding glory of light, and above a crown of five stars, certainly the five wounds of Christ to which the confraternity devoted its prayers. The pole is capped, just as the inventory of 1786 records, by a silver pieta below a cross, replicating in miniature the polychrome wood image which the brotherhood was founded to venerate.⁴⁴

Other confraternities at St. Jacob's acquired the same kind of splendid banner. In 1753 the Foundation for the Brotherhood of the Fortnightly Viaticum paid 1,484 guilders for a new standard of gold cloth decorated with fringe and tassels, carried on a pole of beaten silver, with a silver cross on top. A former master of the Brotherhood for Faithful Souls donated a new banner in 1742, and in 1783 members approved the design and expenditures for its replacement. The Holy Trinity Brotherhood spent large sums for new banners in 1767 and 1785–89.⁴⁵

As Table 9.1 above demonstrates, all three of these brotherhoods possessed the capital to buy expensive new banners, and I already have mentioned that the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother cashed in assets for the same purpose. Even the less wealthy, more peripheral groups apparently could not do without a banner. In 1760 the coachmen of St. Guido reported that they hung out their banner on the feast day of their saint.⁴⁶

It was indeed customary, as the coachmen had done, for brotherhoods to display their banners inside the church on their patron's feast day. The

43 RAAKASJA B.56, Tweeden Reken Boeck, Der Confrerie vande Bedruckte Maghet, ende Moder Godts Maria.

44 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, f.30r., eenen silveren noodgodts met cruys, als twee silvere vaeskens dienende tot de vaen/ een vaen geborduert in het goud.

45 Viaticum RAAKASJA B.59/8, 149; Faithful Souls, RAAKASJA B.70; Trinity, RAAKASJA 43.

46 RAAKASJA B.48/28, Jan. 27, 1760, Brotherhood St. Guido has received permission to place their new catalog on the corner of the partition wall between the St. Roch and St. Job Chapels: “onder de plaets daer onsen standaert gewoon is uyt te steecken op de feestdagen van de boven schreven Confrerie”.

Confraternity of Faithful Souls set out their banner during the feast of All Souls, and the Holy Trinity Brotherhood used their banner in 1681 to draw attention to the board on which were advertised the indulgences at their disposal.⁴⁷

Brotherhoods proudly carried their banners outside at the front of their processions through the parish streets. In one rousing appeal to the shoemakers' journeymen the banner furnished a symbolic rallying point of the brotherhood's collective purpose: "Oh you shoemakers, masters and journeymen, who follow the banner and tread in the footsteps and honor as your patrons Crispin and Crispinian . . . March on!"⁴⁸ These standards asserted every corporate body's relative position in the hierarchy of citywide gatherings—guilds and civic militias along with brotherhoods. But it seems that the confraternities invested a great deal more in the banners than did the other groups.⁴⁹ More in general, by unfurling banners of their patron saints in the streets, the brotherhoods contributed to the overwhelming assertion of Catholic domination, saturating the city with sacred signs, in contrast to the United Provinces of the Netherlands where Reformed Protestants exerted constant pressure to suppress brotherhood and militia activities associated with Catholicism, in particular the display of Burgundian crosses (St. Andrew's Cross and the ensign of the Spanish royal house) and of saints on banners carried in public.⁵⁰

47 Faithful Souls, RAAKASJA B.70, unpaginated, Oct. 4, 1772: 3. is geresolveert het silvere Cruys van de vaene te doen maecken dat den silveren bol daer van aen is blyvende, ende dat de selve vaene het geheel Octave in de Kerk sal blyven uytstaen; Trinity, ARA: Kerkelijke Archieven: St. Jacobskerk, Antwerpen: Inventaris 110: Nr.7, f.1: Cover page: Desen Boeck is begost meer 1681 en in ordre gestelt door den Seer Eerweerdighen heere hieronimus Brughmans Choordeken van de Collegiale Kercke van Sint jacops en directeur van de Confrerie van de alderheylighste dryvuldigheyt in voorscheven kercke. f.9: memorie van de iaerlyckse oncosten. voor de aflaet berd te hangen de vaene.

48 RAAKASJA 2274, *Het leven van de H.H. Crispinus en Crispianus, martelaers, patroonen der schoenmakers. De welke gevierd worden in de collegiale en parochiale Kerke van den H. Apostel Jacobus, binnen Antwerpen, op den 25 October*, Antwerp n.d. (c.1786?), [p.3] P.J. Haelbos Secret. Programma tot den Lezer; [p.17] O Gy (*Schoenmakers Bazen en Gasten) die'tVaendel volgt, en stapt op hunne treden,/ En die hun als Patroonen (** Crispien, en Crispiniaen) eerd! O Gy, die hunne Deugd, en schoone zedigheden/ Tot voorbeeld aen uw leven keerd!/ Wel aen!

49 Dambruyne 2005, 217.

50 Rooijakkers 1994, 519.

9.8 Catalogs of Names: Commemorative Tablets

Commemorative tablets developed as another important means for the brotherhoods to mark their presence in the church. Early modern sources describe them as “catalogs,” and that term is still current, or was until recently.⁵¹ Catalogs presented columns of names within decorative borders to assert the collective heritage of the brotherhoods. They transposed into a more public and ornamental form the manuscript registers of members’ and officers’ names that were, in their own right, key documents of confraternity practice. Catalogs, like banners, also were displayed by other groups in the church; to honor church- and chapel wardens or to list all the donors whose endowed masses must be celebrated in one or another chapel.⁵² One catalog in the Our Lady Chapel commemorated both of these groups (fig. 9.13. Catalog of the Chapel Wardens hanging in the northeast corner the Our Lady Chapel; see above, fig. 6.9 for a view of this catalog’s location). But catalogs were so typical of brotherhoods that even today they are called generically “brotherhood lists,” although they may have nothing to do with confraternities. Table 9.1 indicates that catalogs are recorded in the possession of 62% of Antwerp’s brotherhoods inventoried in 1786, and in 64% percent, or seven out of the eleven confraternities inventoried from St. Jacob’s. Given that some inventories fail to record the catalogs that still survive or left records in other sources, it is possible to conclude that the actual percentage was considerably higher.⁵³

How did they work as physical objects? Catalogs usually were carved in wood. Sculptor Franciscus Somers submitted bids in 1760 to carve a catalog for the Confraternity of St. Guido in either soft (170 guilders) or more expensive hard wood (200 guilders), while his competitor Daneel Herreijns quoted an

51 See Leemans 1972, 204. Thijs 1994, 249, refers less comfortably to “zogeheten *catalogi*.” However, KIK uses the classification “Broederschapslijst,” even when the catalog was not made for a brotherhood: see below, n.52.

52 RAAKASJA R.13, Kerkrekening 1707, f.34r., payment for catalog in which were placed the names of all churchwardens since 1580; “Catalog der Kerckmeesters van S. Jacob’s van Haren Begin,” Van Lerijs 1855, 146, attribution to Sebastian van den Eynden; KIK no. 61047, classified here as a “Broederschapslijst”; RAAKASJA B.27: Memorial book for Our Lady Chapel, 393, 1777 reference to brass plate of Saturday masses inserted into the catalog hanging in the chapel; RAAKASJA (old number 560), Van Lerijs, 503, describes catalog of Our Lady Chapel wardens since 1645, with plate of Saturday masses; St. Jacob’s, Catalog of the “Kapelmeesters” of the Our Lady Chapel, Van Lerijs 1855, 141, attributed to Artus Quellinus the Younger, KIK no. 61029.

53 For example, the large catalog of the Brotherhood of St. Roch, still hanging in St. Jacob’s, not mentioned in the 1786 inventory, no. 2; see below, n.56.



FIGURE 9.13 *Catalog of the chapel wardens of the Our Lady Chapel.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

even higher price for wainscoting oak (240 guilders).⁵⁴ In St. Jacob's the smallest catalog, a new, second one, that the Trinity Brotherhood commissioned in 1749 (153 × 70 cm) contains slots for only fifty-one names divided among three columns, evidently big enough to list only current and recent officers of this confraternity whose members numbered in the thousands (fig. 9.14).⁵⁵ By contrast the largest catalog in the church, for the Brotherhood of St. Roch (300 × 275 cm) could include in its 686 slots the names of all the members who, over successive generations, joined what was in effect an exclusive club (fig. 9.15). If it was made for the west wall of the St. Roch Chapel where it hung in the nineteenth century, then it would have been the dominant feature of decoration opposite to the altar.⁵⁶

Often imposing in size, the catalogs marked important focal points in different parts of the church. As for the names in the slots, most often a calligrapher would inscribe them on parchment in gilded letters, an honorific flourish in detail.⁵⁷ Curtains protected three of the catalogs, and illusionistic carved curtains served as the organizing conceit for others.⁵⁸ Although few inventories mention it, many catalogs were elaborately decorated with gilded sculptural borders and inset paintings.

In St. Jacob's these figural elements reproduced the image central to each brotherhood's devotion: the Trinity and liberated slaves for the Trinity Confraternity; a small copy of Jan-Erasmus Quellinus' 1693 brotherhood altarpiece for the Confraternity of the Agony of Death (in which two Capuchins, Mary offering her breast, and Christ on the cross bleeding from the wound in

54 RAAKASJA B.78/27.

55 RAAKASJA B.42, Rekeningen van het Aertsbroderschap der Allerheyligste Dryvuldigheyd, tot verlossing der Christene Slaeven. 1717–1749, f.197v, under expenditures for 1749: payments to "Engelbert" for carving and gilding the frame of the new catalog, and to "Sr. Vervoor" (Michiel vander Voort the Younger?) for painting the catalog: total 23 guilders 16 stivers.

56 Van Lerijs 1855, 68.

57 RAAKASJA B.74, Tailors Journeymen Brotherhood of St. Bonifatius: rekening boek 1756/57–1779/80, fol.113v; RAAKASJA 42, Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, account book, f.23v, expenditures for 1722, payment to clean the catalog, and then "for gilding thirty-two names;" FAA Broederschappen St. Jacobs, K 1871/1778 1 Octobris/ Geschreven voor de Cathalogue van d H. Dryvuldigheyd/ 2 vergulde namen der prefecten.

58 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, f.81v, Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, Minorite Church: twee catalogue met de gordynen; f.180r, Brotherhood of the Immaculate Conception, Chapel of the Skippers' Guild: Eene catalogue oft naemlyst staende in eenen vergulden leyst met verciersel, twee gordyntiens met eysere garden daer voor.



FIGURE 9.14 *Small catalog of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 9.15 *Catalog of the Brotherhood of St. Roch, 18th century, restored in 1832.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

his side, comfort a man at the threshold of death); a relief of the Pietà venerated by the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother; Hope (left) and Faith (right) who kneel beneath a ciborium in glory like one that the members of the Viaticum Confraternity would accompany in procession (fig. 9.16; fig. 9.17; fig. 9.18).⁵⁹

59 Catalog of Confraternity of the Agony of Death, commissioned 1699–1700 from a sculptor and from a painter Van Herp, as in Van Lerijs, RAAKASJA (old number 560), 542; Catalog



FIGURE 9.16 *Catalog of the Confraternity of the Agony of Death.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

of the Confraternity of the Sorrowful Mother, attributed to the workshop of Ludovicus Willemssens by Van Lerijs, RAAKASJA (old number 560), 537; Catalog of the Confraternity of the Fortnightly Viaticum, as in Van Lerijs, RAAKASJA (old number 560), 66.



FIGURE 9.18 *Catalog of the Confraternity of the Fortnightly Viaticum.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

the first for the living, and the second for the dead, while another brotherhood used a pair of catalogs to separate the brothers from the sisters [1786, “confreres, nos. 11, 24, 29, 30, 34, 44; prefects, nos. 13, 20, 32; contributors, no. 20; brothers and sisters, no. 66]. Catalogs are always described as hanging in the church, and some inventories make a point of noting that the catalog, nailed

fast to the wall or inserted into the wainscoting, had become a fixed element in the church's decoration, implying that these were no longer moveable goods and should not be confiscated [nos. 32, 41]. Frequently the catalogs stood close to the chapel or altar where the brotherhood held its services. A wood-carved name tablet was the only permanent visible sign by which the coachmen of the Brotherhood of St. Guido could demonstrate their presence in St. Jacob's; the catalog of the Viaticum Confraternity faced the Sacrament Chapel on the south transept wall; the catalog of the Sorrowful Mother Confraternity hung in a similar position on the north transept wall opposite the brotherhood's sacred image displayed on the altar of the Our Lady Chapel; and in 1688, when the "youth of the parish" founded their own confraternity in the church dedicated to St. James, they immediately obtained permission from the collegiate chapter to hang their catalog either in the canons' sacristy behind the high choir or in the ambulatory, close to the high altar where the confraternity would celebrate its services.⁶⁰ Their proximity to the altars suggests that some catalogs could have functioned as lists for prayer on behalf of deceased members, thus an extension of the mutual assurance that confraternities accorded for requiem masses and a respectable funeral.⁶¹

9.9 Decorated Manuscripts: "printboeken"

The Antwerp confraternity inventories of 1786 report that five (45%) out of the eleven brotherhoods listed from St. Jacob's owned what were called "printboeken"—printbooks. Printbooks from eight, or 73% of these brotherhoods actually survive. Two other confraternities affiliated with St. Jacob's also commissioned printbooks, bringing the total in the church to ten. Among all seventy-two official Antwerp brotherhoods inventoried in 1786, seventeen "printboeken" are listed, only 23%. However, twenty-six additional

60 For St. Guido see above, n.46; for the Sorrowful Mother see RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115: 1: fol.8r: En entrant par le marche St. jaque . . . trois epitaffes dont deux en marbre, et une de confrerie; for St. Jacob see RAAKASJA (old number 560), 141, Van Lerijs, referring to lib. II actor. capli., f.312, July 18, 1688.

61 See Defoort 1986, 63, who suggests that confraternity enrollment lists descended from medieval lists of the dead (obituarial) intended as commemorative records for prayer. FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighe Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, f.168r., Brotherhood of Faithful Souls, St. Willebrordus Church: "Item twee cataloguen, eenen van de naemen der levenden eene van de namen der dooden," one for the living and one for the dead, making the use for prayer explicit in a confraternity dedicated to praying for souls in purgatory.

brotherhoods record luxuriously bound books which could have been illustrated, so that the potential climbs to forty-three, or 59% of the inventoried brotherhoods which could have owned “printboeken.” Although the common name suggests reproductive prints, these books in fact are manuscripts accorded special notice and a separate category in the inventories, precisely because they all are elaborately decorated by hand. It could be that during the 18th century the term used for mechanically reproduced prints was applied to all illustrated books, even manuscripts. By the late 18th century the new illustrations for these books routinely were called “prints.”⁶² Printbooks owned by St. Jacob's confraternities display various combinations of inscriptions in florid calligraphy, highly finished pen drawings, and illuminations painted vividly in watercolors. Pictorial decoration is the shared characteristic that ties together in one category what actually are diverse kinds of books. Membership registers, prefects' financial accounts, rules and agreements of the confreres all were inventoried as printbooks because of their pictures. Often, the extraordinary status of the books is enhanced by costly binding materials and substantial size. Most are weighty folio tomes (on average 35 × 22cm), bound in velvet or red leather with silver clasps and corners, and sometimes protected in specially made wooden boxes [1786, no. 42, St. Jacob's, *Geloovige zielen*; no. 43, St. Jacob's, *Heilige Drievuldigheid*] (fig. 9.19).⁶³ “Printboeken” are impressive, magnificent objects, always meant for display. Taken together, they amount to a sizeable body of work, a late efflorescence of manuscript decoration stimulated by Antwerp's brotherhoods.⁶⁴

St. Jacob's ten confraternity printbooks dating to before 1800 contributed an important part of that history. In turn, the printbooks lent symbolic substance to each brotherhood. That representative character is immediately evident in

62 RAAKASJA B.71, *Rekeninghe der Heeren Directeurs van de Goddelyke Diensten tot Laevenisse der Geloovige Zielen in de Collegiale en Parochiale Kerke van den H. Jacobus*, Nov. 2, 1787–Nov. 1, 1788: Item aen D'Heer Confrater Van Dyck voor 't stellen der print in den Boeck volgens resolutie par quittance.

63 For example, RAAKASJA B.69, the printbook of the Confraternity for Christian Doctrine: 36.4 × 23.3 cm., bound in red tooled leather with beautiful silver sunburst corners, and angel-head clasps. Title page: *Eersten Boeck/ der Magistrature/ Behelsende de Naemen/ Der Eerw: Heeren Directeurs/ Onder Directeurs/ Praefecten en andere Offici:/ Van Het Lofweirdig Broederschap/ Der Christelyke Leringe/ Onder de Bescherming:/ Van De H.H. Petrus en Paulus/ In De Collegiale En Parochiale Kerke/ Van Den H. Jacobus/ Binnen Dese Stadt Antwerpe/ Opege regt in Het Jaer/ 1703. Calligraphy and illustration: signed: Plume a. Bogaert/ 1781.*

64 See Rooses 1904 for the best account to date of this work.



FIGURE 9.19 *Cover of the printbook of the Confraternity for Christian Doctrine, RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.20 *Book of the St. Roch Confraternity, coat of arms of Jonker Gaspar Henricus della Faille and of Vrouw Clara Cesarina Bosschaerts, his wife, 1725. RAAKASJA.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

the earliest, the "Book of the Confraternity of St. Roch," started in 1676.⁶⁵ An assemblage of full folio coats of arms painted in watercolors on parchment, the book was intended as a collective sign of the brotherhood's exclusively noble membership, continuing in the tradition of older elite confraternities.⁶⁶ (fig. 9.20) Although the Jesuit Bollandist authors of St. Roch's life, published in 1737, cited the "Book of the Confraternity" as proof of the saint's lively cult in Antwerp, no traces of sacred imagery mix with the noble insignia painted in the book. In the eyes of the Jesuits, and of the members themselves, a confraternity's nobility could lend distinction to its patron saint. St. Roch's "Book of the Confraternity" aggrandized the potent union of aristocracy and religion.⁶⁷

After St. Roch's "Book of the Confraternity," all nine remaining print-books started between 1717 and 1781, were products of the mid-18th century. Competitive emulation inside and outside the church persuaded one confraternity after another to acquire printbooks. St. Jacob's Viaticum Confraternity generated the necessary momentum in 1726 when it entered the contest as the last of Antwerp's parish-based Viaticum confraternities to commission a print-book (fig. 9.21).⁶⁸ These beautiful, impressive drawings could, in turn, have convinced the prefects of the Trinity Brotherhood to pay for the watercolor illustrations that first appeared in their account book in 1728, eleven years after the book was started in 1717, and then gradually increased each year in both

65 RAAKASJA B.51, 34.8 × 22.3 cm., bound in red velvet with two silver clasps, parchment. Title page: Liber Confraternitatis Divi Rochi In Ecclesia collegiali ac parochiali Sancti Iacobi anno M.D.C.L.XXVI.

66 For the earlier collection of members' coats of arms assembled by the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus affiliated with the Cathedral of Antwerp see Marinus 1993, 54–55.

67 RAAKASJA B.51, noted in *Acta sanctorum Augusti* III, 415: "Dominos confratres ab erectione confraternitatis semper nobilioris notae huius urbis viros fuisse: cui Comes de la Tour & Tassis primus propria manu adscripsit; ipsius & quàm plurimorum insignibus in libro confraternitatis depictis: inter quae etiam illa Illustrissimorum ac reverendissimorum hujus civitatis quondam antistitem Ambrosii Capello, & Ferdinandi van Beughem emicant. De Praefato Comite de la Tour fertur, quod propter restem tunc temporis grassantem huc fugerit, ut se patrocinio praedicti Sancti, in hac insigni ecclesia à ducentis & ultra annis celebris, commendaret."

68 RAAKASJA B.64: title page: Memorie van alle de Weldoenders Directeurs Prefecten Officialen ende Overledenen van het Lofweerdigh Broederschap der Veerthien-daegsche Berechtinge In de Parochiale Ende Collegiale Kercke van St. Jacob Binnen Antwerpen. Signed D. Verpoorten scripsit 1726. See Prims 1948, "Het Guldenboek;" Prims 1948, *De Antwerpse broederschappen*.



FIGURE 9.21 *Dominicus Verpoorten. Title page of the Memorial of Benefactors, Directors, Prefects, Officers, and Deceased Members of St. Jacob's Confraternity of the Fortnightly Viaticum.*

RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

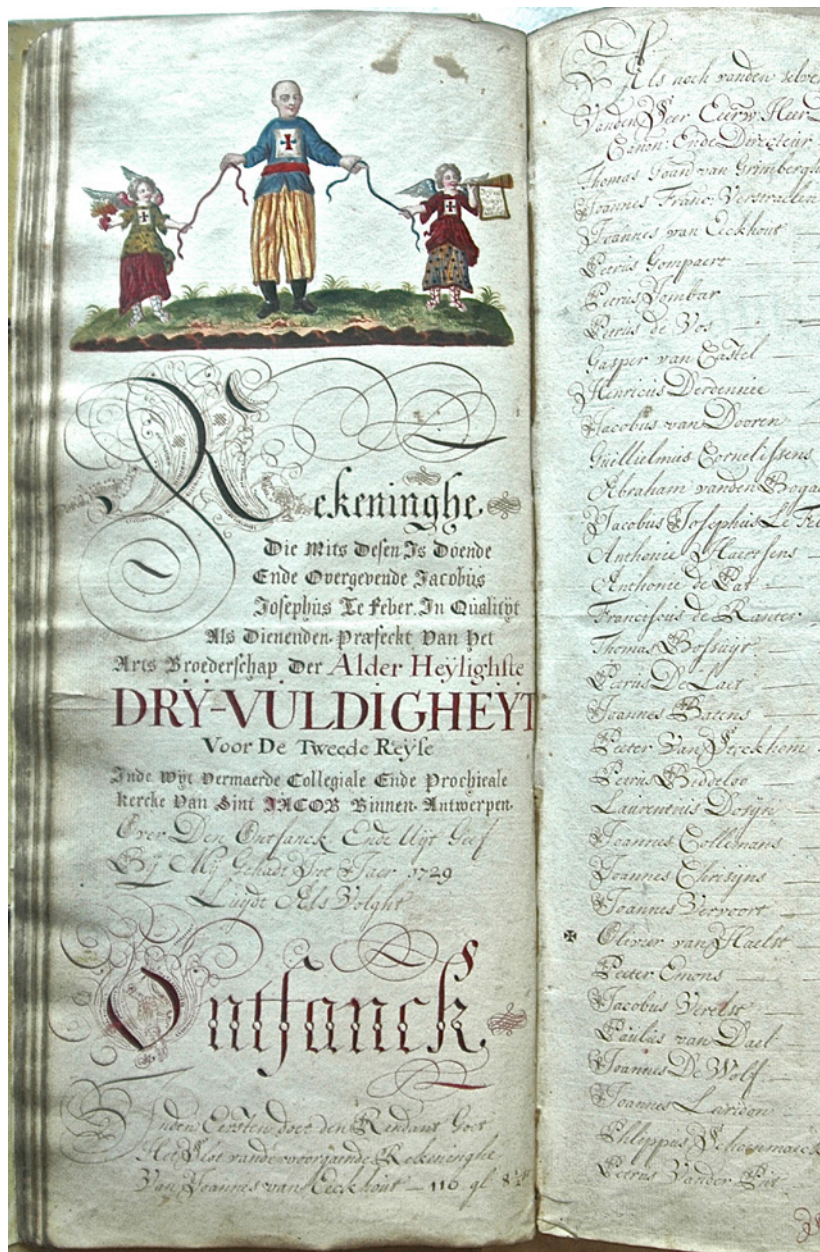


FIGURE 9.22 Account Book of Trinity Brotherhood, f.53v., account of 1729 with watercolor depicting two children dressed as angels trumpeting the redemption of a Christian enslaved in Algiers. RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

size and complexity of subject matter.⁶⁹ (fig. 9.22) The other confraternities followed suit, and often chose one or another artist from a small group who specialized in this kind of work.

A hierarchy of social distinction and wealth sorted out the progression. St. Roch's "Book of the Confraternity" for its elite members came first, followed by the Viaticum, Trinity, and Faithful Souls confraternities, the only three in St. Jacob's that enjoyed substantial capital assets.⁷⁰ Less affluent brotherhoods, even those organized for artisans and journeymen, decorated their books on a more modest scale. The Tailors Journeymen Brotherhood of St. Boniface marked their fifty-year jubilee in 1781 with a fine drawing on the title page of their new account book, by which they honored their collective devotion through a sign of prestige that had gained valuable currency (fig. 9.24).⁷¹

Personal investment in this symbolic value can be measured by two drawings that the artists themselves contributed to the printbook of the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning, the confraternity founded by the artisans who kept St. Jacob's in good repair. First, the title page, in rococo scrollwork, proclaims at the top that this book contains the brotherhood's rules, displays below the names of the members, and in each of the four circles commemorates one of the churchwardens by whose authority the brotherhood was established in 1751 (fig. 9.25).⁷² The artist's signature, inscribed inside the frame just below the list of members, makes the personal connection: "D. Verpoorten in his

69 RAAKASJA B.42, Rekeningen van het Aertsbroderschap der Allerheyligste Dryvuldigheyd, tot verlossing der Christene Slaeven. 1717–1749. Starting with 1717, annual accounts of income and expenditures submitted by the Prefect of the Brotherhood. 40 × 15.7 cm. Illuminations increased in size from 11.2 × 15.7 cm. in 1729 to 18.5 × 15 cm. in 1735.

70 RAAKASJA Gelovige Zielen, see below, title page.

71 RAAKASJA B.75, f.1r: Boek der Rekeningen der Kleermakers Gasten; Over den Ontfang, en Uytgeef: Door Alle Afgaende, ende Aen-Koomende, Dekens. Onder den tytel, van den Heyligen Bonifacius Begonst, op 9 Decembr: 1731./ en Deeze Boek Begint in't Jubel Jaer op 14 Mey Anno 1781/ Rekening of 1780–1781 under the serving deans of the Tailors Journeymen: Joannes Bapta. De Winter and Joannes van Hiel: with a fine pen-ink drawing: like an altar: Bonifacius on the crown holding a pair of shears, angels on the pediments, name Sts. John Baptist and John Evangelist at either side. Signed at bottom right: H.A. Daeren.

72 RAAKASJA B.85: 35.7 × 23.5 cm. Title page: Reglement ende verbintenis der hier onder staende Confreers von Donder en Blixem, Het welcke is goetd-gekeurt ende bevestigt door dese vier hier neven-staende Heeren ende Diende Kerck-meesters der Parochiale ende colegiale Kercke van s. Jacob Binnen Antwerpen Den 8 Augut 1751. Signed: D. Verpoorten oudt in de seventig. Jaeren, en in de vyftig van syn Paren fecit et scripsit 1753.

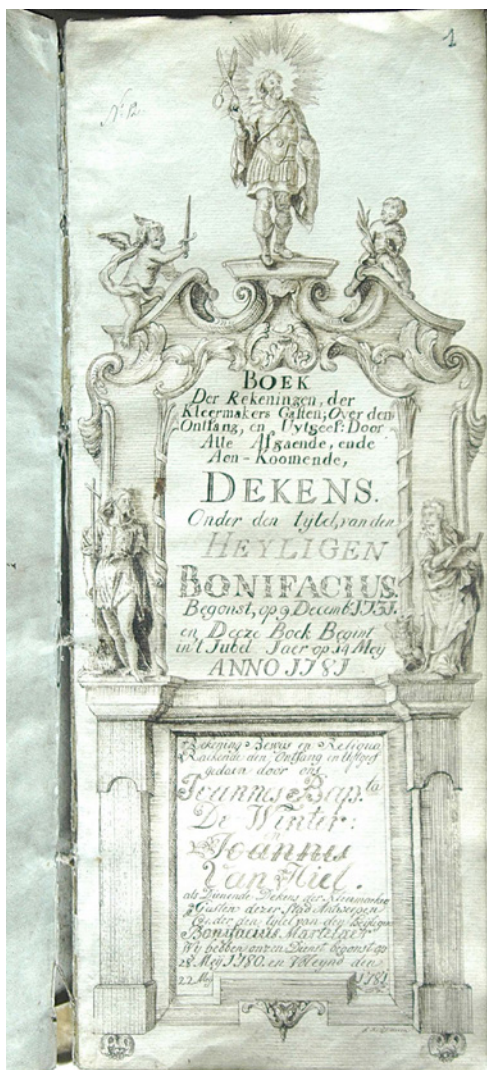


FIGURE 9.24

H.A. Daeren. Title page for the account book of the Tailors Journeymen Brotherhood of St. Boniface, with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and St. Boniface. 1780–1781. RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

seventieth year, and in the fiftieth of his marriage, made (drew) it and wrote it 1753.” This Dominicus Verpoorten, schoolmaster and sworn writing master of the city, played a key role in the decoration of Antwerp confraternity “print-books,” with his ornamental calligraphic inscriptions and incisive pen and ink drawings, which bear dates between 1710 and 1754. He commented in 1722 on his own work for St. Jacob’s Viaticum Confraternity: “Everything drawn and written by me in this book is the work of an amateur, since I have never learned

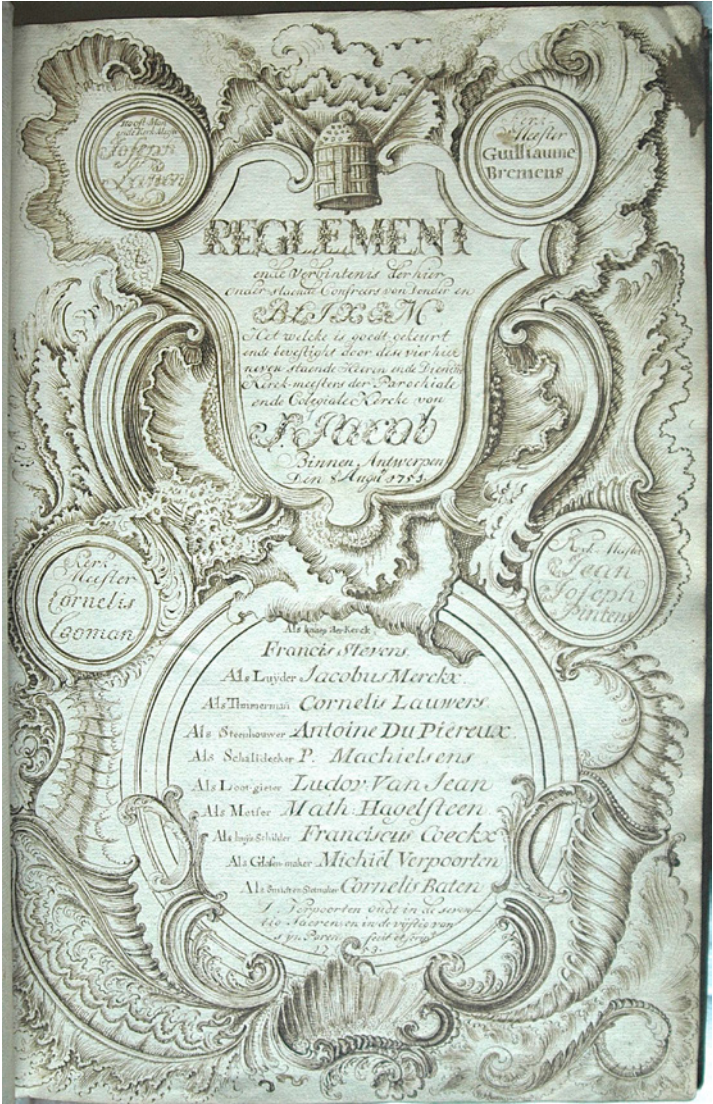


FIGURE 9.25 *Dominicus Verpoorten. Thunder and Lightning Confraternity book title page. RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

from anyone what you see here. Be it to God alone to bestow the honor.”⁷³ Subscribing his autobiographical signature directly below the list of Thunder and Lightning Confraternity members (including glazier Michiel Verpoorten, perhaps a relative), Verpoorten claimed a place in the group’s remembrance.

One of the members proper, “house painter” Franciscus [Frans] Coeckx contributed the second full-page drawing to the printbook, dated 1754, in which he presented the brotherhood’s mission through an allegory in picture and poetry: “It is a short conceit, not without reason, configured by this sketch and written in this book” (fig. 9.26).⁷⁴ Mars has stolen Jupiter’s thunder to stir unrest against the Catholic Church who sleeps peacefully below, confident in her “people” (Volcke), and, no matter how violently Aeolus storms, she, like a pillar that does not bend, stands firm, yet depending on Prudence who keeps hate chained below and in abeyance. So, “Let us together support the Church who builds her tranquility on us when tempests rage, because it is entrusted to us.” Coeckx’s allegory plays on deeply political overtones, in which the god of war who threatens destruction against a complacent Church should be scolded, the word for “scold” in Dutch a pun on Antwerp’s blockaded river, the Scheldt. It is the people, personified in the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning, who will vigilantly protect their Church. For Verpoorten, Coeckx, and the other members, their printbook furnished the single permanent medium through which to display the Brotherhood’s convictions.

But that purpose raises the question of how printbook images actually were used. Because most of them commemorate the annual service of a confraternity’s prefect or director, it has been assumed that the newly decorated page would be displayed in the church during the feast of the brotherhood’s devotion, like the brotherhood banners, when the prefect would finish his term of office. Max Rooses, who reported this custom without citing evidence for it,

73 On Verpoorten see Rooses 1904, 149, who cites the inscription from 1722: *Alles dat in desen Boeck door my is geteekent en geschreven is maer uyt liefhebbery, alsoo ick noyt iet van wat ghy hier siet by iemandt hebbe geleert. Wilt dan Godt alleen de eere geven. D. Verpoorten.* Rooses, not aware of Verpoorten’s inscription on the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning book’s title page, assumed that illustrations produced between 1736 and 1754 for the printbook of St. Jacob’s Faithful Souls Brotherhood, and signed D. Verpoorten, were by the elder Verpoorten’s son, Dominicus the Younger. But it is more likely that the elder Verpoorten started his work in 1710 and continued to 1754 when he would have reached the age of seventy-three.

74 RAAKASJA B.85. Coeckx inscribed 1749 as master “house painter” (*huysschilder* to distinguish from *constschilder* [art painter]) in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke: Rombouts and Van Lerius 1961, II, 792. For his contribution to the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother, see above, n.42.



FIGURE 9.26 *Franciscus [Frans] Coeckx. Allegory of the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning in the brotherhood's book.*

RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

must have relied on good documentation, because he makes special note that the practice was unique to Antwerp, and that his researches failed to turn up any trace of it in other Flemish cities.⁷⁵

Some pages radiate a kind of splendor and personal tribute that suggests they were meant for display (fig. 9.27). In one of the most beautiful, painted by

75. Rooses 1904, 136–137.

Joannes Claudius De Cock to honor Franciscus Mattheus van Paesschen's service in 1730 as prefect of St. Jacob's Viaticum Confraternity, the prefect's name saints, Francis and Matthew, perform the same role as saints in an altarpiece.⁷⁶ Francis kneels on the left in meditative prayer, leading to Matthew on the right, who directly engages the viewer with his glance, as his right hand, pointing inwards, indicates the incongruously life-size, engraving-like, black and white drawing of the Resurrection, held at the corners by two angels, one of whom displays, over the figure of Christ, the consecrated host, the object of the brotherhood's devotion.

The double nature of the invention as collective devotion and personal tribute accurately points to the public and private split in the character of the print books. The brotherhoods agreed in meetings of the whole membership to commission the books for such special occasions as jubilee years, undertook to bind them in velvet or leather, and to ornament the covers with silver.⁷⁷ Several members might subscribe for the cost of a title page. But given that each prefect paid for his own commemoration, Antwerp's six viaticum confraternities could maintain in the 1786 inventories that their printbooks were private property and did not belong to the brotherhoods at all. Some printbooks were stored in specially made wooden cases, most remained inside the church, but others were kept safe in one or another member's house.⁷⁸

Further, in some printbooks the decorated pages to honor prefects were inserted into what really are lists of all the members. This double purpose is exemplified in the new book that the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother commissioned in 1749, "serving blessed memory by inscribing in the future all the brothers and sisters of this laudable Brotherhood." It did indeed record the names of all members from 1700 on. But the book actually consists of two independent parts, starting from the back and front, upside down from each other, the unembellished name list and the decorated prefect pages separated,

76 RAAKASJA B.64, *Memorie van alle de Weldoenders Directeurs Prefecten Officialen ende Overledenen van het Lofwaardigh Broederschap der Veerthien-daegsche Berechtinge*.

77 RAAKASJA B.56, record of the Confraternity of the Sorrowful Mother's decision on Nov. 30, 1749, to make "... eenen nieuwen Boeck bekleet synde met fluweel twee silvere sloten acht hoecken dienende tot salighe memorie om in toe comende in't schryven alle de Broeders ende medesusters van dit Loffelyck Broederschap der alder Heylighste maghet ende moeder godts Maria onder den titel van troosterse der bedruckte."

78 FAA K 1980: on cover: *Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786*, f.93r–93v. St. Jacob's Viaticum Brotherhood: 4 Item eenen boek bekleed met rood fluweel ende beslagen met eene silvere plaate acht silvere hoecken ende andersints, dienende voor de Printen de welke door de dienende directeurs van het broederschap t'hunnen eygen coste syn gemaekt; f.94v.: 16 Een herthoute kasken dienende tot conservatie van den printboek.



FIGURE 9.27 *Joannes Claudius De Cock. Prefect page in honor of Franciscus Mattheus van Paesschen in the prefect book of the Confraternity of the Fortnightly Viaticum. RAAKASJA.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

and going in different directions (fig. 9.28).⁷⁹ Each prefect page depicts a scene from Christ's passion, often with the biblical passage from which it was drawn, and thus offers another image for meditation during the brotherhood's Lenten services focused on the sufferings of Jesus. Both parts of the book kept alive the memory of individual members, perhaps so that after death they could be included in the prayers of the confraternity. Considering that another confraternity, of Faithful Souls, was dedicated exclusively to praying for dead souls in purgatory, their printbook, which also unites a complete register of names with decorated prefect pages, must have functioned as a prayer list, extending the mutual benefits of membership from the living to the dead.⁸⁰ Brotherhood catalogs, printbooks, and inscription lists therefore overlapped in commemorating the dead for the purpose of prayer.

Finally, visual commemoration also motivated the production of these books, in the sense that many times the illustrations reproduce the places, objects of devotion, ceremonies, and doctrines at the core of each brotherhood's purpose. Illuminations for the account book of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood made in the 1730s and 1740s depict several distinctive confraternity rituals—the thanksgiving mass already discussed, processions to display freed slaves, common meals, and jubilee decorations—in reflective justifications of the expenses recorded in the book (fig. 9.29). A procession painted onto the account for 1734 parades freed slaves through the city streets to publicize how the brotherhood has accomplished its mission. It unfolds an array of symbols that the Trinitarians employed throughout Catholic Europe for similar processions. An acolyte holding the confraternity's silver cross leads the company. Children dressed as angels pull the slaves along with ribbons in the Trinitarian colors of red and blue that have replaced the weighty chains of captivity. The slaves wear the same Trinitarian scapulars that the more devout brothers and sisters of the confraternity also wore on their persons. Bringing up the rear, a Trinitarian and a well-dressed burgher represent the groups responsible for freeing the slaves.⁸¹

79 For the commission, see above, n.77. For the book itself, see RAAKASJA B.54.

80 RAAKASJA B.72.

81 RAAKASJA B.42., *Rekeningen van het Aertsbroderschap der Allerheyligste Dryvuldigheyd, tot verlossing der Christene Slaeven, 1717–1749*, f.68v., 1732, watercolor illumination of Trinitarian who pleads with a North African ruler for the freedom of four slaves; f.73v., 1733, watercolor illumination of Trinitarians sailing aboard a three-masted Belgian warship to free slaves on the African coast; f.79v., 1734, watercolor of a procession welcoming liberated slave into Antwerp; f.85v., 1735, watercolor of Christian slaves working and praying for liberation.



FIGURE 9.28 1753 prefect page for Franciscus [Frans] Coeckx in the memorial book of the Confraternity of the Sorrowful Mother. RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.29 Procession of the Trinity Brotherhood displaying Christians freed from slavery, account book of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood, f.79v. 1734. RAAKASJA. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

In his 1727 pen and ink drawing for a second title page of the Viaticum Brotherhood's prefect book, Dominicus Verpoorten chose as his theme the viaticum procession itself for which the confraternity had been founded.⁸² (fig. 9.30; fig. 9.31). The Church herself, *Ecclesia*, sits with angels on a cloud above the cartouche bearing the title inscription. In her left hand she raises a banner and points with her right to the viaticum procession depicted on it. At top right the dove of the Holy Spirit descends to sanctify the enterprise of the viaticum. Verpoorten embellished further on the theme of procession with a garland of ceremonial objects framing the cartouche. At the left a lighted torch links the holy water stoup to the lantern and bell below. At the right a crucifix rests on an open book with a ciborium, incense burner, and paten below. All these sacred objects gave precise symbolic and liturgical order to viaticum processions.

Likewise, Henri Casteels, another of the key artists who decorated printbooks, in his title page for the printbook of the Confraternity of Faithful Souls, took care to depict the important locations where the brotherhood accomplished its purpose of praying for dead souls in purgatory (fig. 9.32; fig. 9.33).⁸³ St. Jacob's itself is portrayed accurately in a view straight on from the south. On the top right, the church's south graveyard—where the brotherhood set up its collection box, embellished with a picture to attract donations—is depicted in detail, a child seated there blowing bubbles to symbolize the vanity of life.⁸⁴ Winged Time straddles the tomb in the foreground and holds up a cloth curtain. Death is pictured on it, blowing his trumpet and pointing to the title "Names of the Confreres and Masters" where souls burning in the fires of purgatory are woven into the letters themselves.

The printbooks developed in the 18th century as another regular element in the repertoire of shared signs that defined the place of confraternities within the church and community.

9.10 Cheap Print: Booklets, Prints, and Placards

Among the rubrics under which Antwerp's religious brotherhoods inventoried their property in 1786, the Austrian government reserved a separate heading

82 RAAKASJA B.64, second title page.

83 RAAKASJA B.72.

84 RAAKASJA B.70, (unpaginated): Resolutien gehouden in de Camervergaeringhen in het jaer 1735, 5. 9ber: "4^o geresolveert den offerblock met de schilderie op het kerkhoff in staet te stellen." On the south churchyard, see above chapter 1, and below chapter 10.



FIGURE 9.30 *Dominicus Verpoorten. Second title page of the Fortnightly Viaticum Brotherhood's prefect book. RAAKASJA.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.31 *Detail of fig. 9.30 showing banner with viaticum procession. RAAKASJA.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

for printed material. For that reason officials repeatedly listed together parcels of booklets, devotional prints, and placards.⁸⁵ Nor was it simply a classification imposed by the state bureaucracy. The inventory of one brotherhood [the Brotherhood of Thirty-Six Saints housed in the Pieter Pot Abbey] records “a basket with placards, booklets, prayer cards, and devotional prints,” indicating

85 FAA K 1980: on cover: *Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen* 1786, f.10r., Brotherhood of the Holy Guardian Angels, Church of the Minims: Een partye beeldekens, boekxkens ende placcaerten; f.30v., Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother, St. Jacob's: Item eenige boexkens, beeldekens en placcaerten; f.40v., Brotherhood of Christian Doctrine, St. Walburgis Church: placcaerten Regels en s: Joseph beldeken; f.56v., Brotherhood of St. Donatus, St. Jacob's: Item eenige boekxkens ende placcaerten litanien en klyne beeldekens van den selven Heyligen. Numerous other examples follow these in the inventories.



FIGURE 9.32 Henri Casteels. Title page for the printbook of the Confraternity of Faithful Souls. RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.33 Detail of fig. 9.32 depicting the south side of St. Jacob's on the left. RAAKASJA. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

that confraternities stored their print material together, literally lumping them together in one basket.⁸⁶

Their production and use also tied booklets, prints, and placards together, so that the inventories codified what already existed in practice. Churches and brotherhoods commissioned them all at once from the same printers.⁸⁷ Tessa Watt coined the term “cheap print” to encompass exactly the least expensive publications, characterized above all by small size and brevity to cut down on costs for paper.⁸⁸ Low price facilitated the mass production and distribution through which the brotherhoods could reach wider audiences.

86 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, f.71r.: 17. eene mande met placcaertten, boekxkens, briefkens ende beeldekens van het broederschap.

87 RAAKASJA R.16, Kerkrekeningen, 1750–1765, 1751, f.24r.–24v.: under ordinary and extraordinary expenditures, to Joannes Grangé for printing placards, litanies, and devotional prints of St. John Nepomucenus: 9 guilders–2 stivers; 1752–1753, f.55r.–55v.: under rubric of ordinary and extraordinary expenses: to Joannes Grangé for printing placards, litanies, and devotional prints of St. John Nepomucenus: 44 guilders–15 stivers. Paid for by the churchwardens in support of this saint's cult at his feast day.

88 Watt 1991, 1; Van der Stock 1998, 128–140, persuasively challenges the assumption that cheap print was used only by less wealthy and uneducated people, arguing that use, not cost or appearance, determined the extent of a print's distribution.

Cheap print for the brotherhoods was distinctive because it flowed through closed and integrated circuits of communication.⁸⁹ Whereas most religious prints and books were published to compete in the open market, brotherhoods commissioned, paid for, and distributed their own cheap print first to their members and only secondarily to outsiders. These organizations adapted a wide variety of images and texts to accomplish their well-defined purposes.

A vocabulary of terms was employed with some consistency to designate the different kinds of cheap print. Small devotional prints, for example, most often were called “beldekens”—little images. Pocket-size books also were referred to in the diminutive—*boecksens*—booklets. Yet several different names could stick to the same kind of publication. Four-page pamphlets, often decorated with an engraving, could be described as indulgence (*aflaet*), booklet (*boecksen*), prayer (*gebed*), and litany (*litanie*), depending on the part chosen to stand for the whole. Historians have shown by now that the practices of reading in early modern times were similarly fluid, combining images and texts as mixed media, reciting prayers aloud in groups or alone, responding differently to one or another section of a book, and to different kinds of books.⁹⁰ Use of cheap print extended beyond any form of reading or looking to incorporate, as well, practices of manipulation and carrying in which the object itself took on a sacred character. And, when printed on silk or parchment and colored by hand, these works could acquire a higher value.

Made for a defined group pursuing a clear religious goal in a particular place, the cheap print commissioned by brotherhoods wove a web of self-referential instructions and associative images that help reconstruct at least the prescribed forms of reading, looking, and ritual use. Many booklets, for example, contain the rules of the brotherhood that include the requirement to recite the very prayers printed in the same booklets. Texts and images often refer back in different ways to the brotherhood's altar or relic housed in St. Jacob's. Cheap print for the brotherhoods mediated between individuals and the group, between personal and confraternal space, sacred and profane spheres of life. In what follows, I want to set out the distinct characteristics and uses of these different kinds of cheap print.

89 Thijs 1989, 241, notes that the great majority of cheap devotional prints were produced for the open market.

90 Chartier 1987, 7–20.

9.11 Confraternity Booklets

In contrast to the unique, handcrafted, and expensive printbooks, cheap, pocket-sized booklets were printed in editions of more than 1,000, and distributed by many brotherhoods among their members.⁹¹ In the brotherhood inventories of 1786 they are referred to consistently as “boecksens”—booklets. Although the same inventories list the booklets as the property of only fourteen Antwerp brotherhoods, surviving copies indicate that a significantly larger number of confraternities used them. Seven confraternities in St. Jacob's alone published booklets.

Confraternity booklets, printed by the thousands in Antwerp during the 17th and 18th centuries, share a common set of defining characteristics. They are above all small, portable, and simply bound [5.5×10.3 cm; 7.4×13.5 cm.; 8.6×14.3 cm.; 8.7×13 cm.; 9.6×14.5 cm.; 9.8×17 cm. are typical dimensions in width and height]. Most include, translated from Latin into Dutch, the bishop's letter that approved establishment of the confraternity, rules for members, and the indulgences at the confraternity's disposal. A history of the cult or life of the saint comes next. The booklets end with devotional exercises, prayers, and litanies addressed to the confraternity's divine patron. An engraving or woodcut often stands as the frontispiece, depicting the sacred entity on which the confraternity has settled its devotion and furnishing the object of prayer.

By including these different components, the booklets served a variety of important functions. First, these booklets adapted the cults of local saints to the new reforms of the Counter Reformation Church. They reiterated obedience to the bishop and proudly documented the official Church's participation in the revival of homegrown cults.⁹² An eleven page, Short Summary of Indulgences (approved 1740) granted to the coachmen's Brotherhood of St. Guido, a local saint invoked especially to protect livestock and cure dysentery, reproduced letters from the bishop and pope to assert the confraternity's legitimate foundation in St. Jacob's where it had been contested.⁹³ In a Life of the saint printed on his 750th jubilee in 1762, the regents of St. Peeter's Church in Anderlecht emphasized that the translation of Guido's relics to their church's high altar in

91 The Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, with thousands of members, regularly printed between 1,000–2,000 booklets each year from 1751–1793: RAAKASJA B.45. For earlier discussions of booklets like these, see Defoort 1986, 87–101; Boureau 1987, 35, who indicates the extraordinary continuity of content from the thirteenth-century lives of saints, and also the diverse formats in which they were published.

92 Boureau 1987, 33–35.

93 *Kort Begryp* 1740.

1595 was sanctioned by the archbishop of Mechelen, whose successor, in 1631, “revived” the saint’s brotherhood there.⁹⁴ In the same year Brussels’ coachmen joined this devotion and Antwerp’s coachmen later followed suit, using the different editions of *The Life of St. Guido* to trace their historical descent (fig. 9.34).⁹⁵

In their rules and prayers the brotherhood booklets also expend considerable effort to replace what they call the sin of superstition with the official practices of religion prescribed by the Council of Trent. Prayers for a saint’s intercession must be recited with a heart purified by the sacraments of penitence and communion, good works, and understanding that a saint can only convey our prayers to God who disposes of all things. Litanies appeal first to Christ, God, Mary, and the saint’s exemplary virtues before they ask for the saint’s protection against thunder, plague, or dysentery, and all the other afflictions we so richly deserve as punishment for our sins. And we must beware of ignorant voices telling us our prayers will be heard only if we circle around the saint’s image, the church, or the churchyard just so many times, or repeat exactly the right number of “Our Fathers,” because then we succumb to the sin of superstition.⁹⁶

Hard work devoted to repressing superstition hints at a powerful force active just beneath the surface of official religion.⁹⁷ Brotherhood booklets actually encouraged practices acceptable to the Church that could substitute for the kind of concrete assurance sought through superstition. Members of the Confraternity of St. Donatus were exhorted “Never to be without a print that has touched the saint’s relics, which will be a constant witness of your devotion, and of your trust in him, and a shield against all adversity.”⁹⁸ Indeed, all the engravings printed for the St. Donatus Confraternity in St. Jacob’s, including those bound into the brotherhood’s booklet, attest that they have “Touched the Holy Relics in the St. Jacob’s Church” (fig. 9.35). In similar fashion, the second rule of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood instructed members in their thousands to wear the Trinitarian Order’s red and blue cross scapular, and to die and be buried in it.⁹⁹ This kind of sacred object, carried or worn on

94 Gooris 1762, 64–70.

95 Gooris 1793.

96 Gooris 1762, 71–75, makes all these points in his chapter xiv on “The suggested manner, to fruitfully practice one’s devotion towards St. Guido: (De maniere wordt voorgesteld, om met vrucht sigh tot oeffenen in de devotie tot den Heylighen Guido).

97 On this question in the South Netherlands see Marnef 1997.

98 *Het Leven van den H. Donatus* 1759, 55.

99 Vanden Bossche 1647, 81.



FIGURE 9.34 Gooris 1762, engraving of St. Guido facing title page.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

the person, was distributed most commonly by brotherhoods competing for mass audiences. Physical reminders and aids to prayer—a rosary, the cord of St. Francis, the Trinitarian scapular, or a print of St. Donatus—tied members more closely to the brotherhoods and could change quickly into the talismans, amulets, and fetishes they were meant to replace.¹⁰⁰

More than the sacred objects they endorsed, the brotherhood booklets themselves worked hard to tie members closely to their confraternity's devotions. They could unite members scattered throughout the parish at one moment in private prayer. Engravings in them placed surrogates of the central object of devotion into the hands of each adherent. The booklets publicly legitimized the brotherhood, and contained the impelling need or fear in an acceptable

100 For the Antwerp Rosary Brotherhood in the Dominican Church and the Brotherhood of the Cord of St. Francis in the Minorite Church see Marinus 1995, 264.



FIGURE 9.35 *Het Leven van H. Donatus, 1759, engraving of St. Donatus facing translation into Dutch of Clement XIII's bull granting an indulgence to the brotherhood in St. Jacob's. RAAKASJA.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

frame of pious Counter Reformation “spirituality.” As H. Defoort has observed, each booklet leads back to confession, the sacrament of communion, and a Christian way of life, with the ultimate goal in the salvation of each member’s soul.¹⁰¹ Yet this uniformity of official “spirituality” covers only superficially the diverse cults spelled out in the booklets. Indeed, an unruly diversity of books lies just below the surface. In them different traditions advocate diverse religious practices.

101 Defoort 1986, 113.

St. Jacob's confraternities of the Trinity (1647), Agony of Death (1714), St. Donatus (1759), and the Sorrowful Mother, combined texts and images in their booklets to lead members through experiences so distinct that they seem incomparable to one another. In its greater length, extensive cycle of prayers, and detailed commentary, Franciscus van den Bossche's 1643 (1647 and later editions) handbook for the Trinity Brotherhood most resembles a breviary, and could have been intended for the thousands of regular clergy who submitted block subscriptions to the brotherhood from the distance of their monasteries. They might have understood the subtle change between the title page engraving where the Trinity rests in equilibrium, and the woodcut marking the end of "One Hundred Affecting Prayers," in which both Father and Son gesture upwards to the dominant Holy Spirit, depicting the most difficult mystery of the Trinity elaborated in the last five of the one hundred prayers (fig. 9.36; fig. 9.37): "O God we also confess you to be a Holy Spirit, sharing the same nature of God the Father and the Son. You are called Holy Spirit because you are common to both persons, from whom you receive that which is common to them."¹⁰² Prayers and image explain the abstraction with enough variation and repetition to make it graspable and real.

The 1714 booklet published for members for a brotherhood like that of St. Jacob's Brotherhood of the Agony of Death conveyed a very different message.¹⁰³ It excerpted chapters and prayers from late-medieval writings and assembled them together in a meditation on the imminence of death, sanctified by the imitation of Christ's death on the cross, parceled out in digestible bits. Chapter four, as one example, presents "Christian truths divided into the seven days of the week," taken from a chapter concentrating on death in Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* (Book 1, Chapter 23). The booklet also drew on images to bridge the two locations where members prepared for their good deaths; the confraternity altar on the north side of St. Jacob's roodscreen, where the booklet required members to attend daily mass, dramatized by Jan Erasmus Quellinus' 1693 altarpiece of a dying man looking from his deathbed at the crucified Christ, and each member's bed where he or she would die, and near which would hang, according to the booklet's instruction, a crucifix, that scene reproduced as well in P.B. Bouttat's engraving of the good death opposite the booklet's title page. (fig. 9.38; fig. 9.39).¹⁰⁴ Members were attracted to the

¹⁰² Vanden Bossche 1647, 132–136.

¹⁰³ *Instellinge* 1714.

¹⁰⁴ *Instellinge* 1714, 17, rule 4. "Aen ieder rust-plaetse hebben het beldt van den *gekrusten Salighmaecker* ende wy-water."



FIGURE 9.36

Van den Bossche 1647. Title page. RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

altar as well by the booklet's proclamation of the confraternity's greatest privilege, a "full indulgence," affirmed at the altar by an inscription: "Brotherhood of the blessed agony of death with full indulgence in the fire of death."¹⁰⁵ In its studied simplicity the booklet's devotion may very well follow the new spiritual message of the Capuchins who supported the foundation of this brotherhood.¹⁰⁶ More accessible to a wider audience, *The Life of St. Donatus* celebrated the arrival of the saint's relics and the foundation of his brotherhood at St. Jacob's in 1759. St. Jacob's Brotherhood of St. Donatus accomplished at the local, parish level the Jesuits' purpose to disseminate widely the cult of this saint.¹⁰⁷ People would flock to worship a saint who was similar to a weather witch officially

¹⁰⁵ RAAKASJA (old number 560), 691.

¹⁰⁶ Axters 1960, 47–53; RAAKASJA (old number 560), 691, Van Lerijs points to the two Capuchin fathers included in Jan Erasmus Quellinus's altarpiece as an expression of gratitude by the brotherhood for help received.

¹⁰⁷ *Het Leven van den H. Donatus*, 40–54.



FIGURE 9.37 Van den Bossche 1647, woodcut of Trinity. RAAKASJA.
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

approved by the Catholic Church. As noted above, the relics were the source of power, transmitted directly to the brotherhood booklet by the engraving bound in the booklet, that had touched the relics, reproduced the reliquary of the saint housed in St. Jacob's, and was to be carried on every member's person. The rules laid on a light burden. Members, if they had the time, were to gather in the church whenever stormy weather threatened, venerate the saint's relics, and beseech his "potent" intercession against the destruction by thunder of "churches, towers, buildings, people and families."¹⁰⁸ The largest section of the booklet, the saint's life, detailed the history of his body to prove the value of the relics in a way that applied the new standard of evidence to the traditional lives of saints.

108 *Het Leven van den H. Donatus*, in the unpaginated letter from Henricus Gabriel, bishop of Antwerp, Aug. 8, 1759, at the beginning of the book.



FIGURE 9.38 *Jan-Erasmus Quellinus. Altarpiece for the Brotherhood of the Agony of Death.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 9.39 *P.B. Bouttats, engraving facing title page of the booklet for the Agony of Death Brotherhood. Ruusbroec Genootschap.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

The booklet for the Brotherhood of the Sorrowful Mother worked in a different way by supplying the image and text for meditation on the five wounds of Christ that stood at the center of the devotion from its informal organization around the venerated image of Mary in the 1650s to the foundation of the confraternity in 1674. An edition of 1774, celebrating the centenary jubilee, is equipped with a hand-colored engraving after the original polychrome sculpture then displayed on the altar of the Our Lady Chapel in St. Jacob's. While the image presents Mary under the cross cradling her son's broken body in her lap, a text guides the prayerful meditation, wound by wound, as if seen through

the compassionate eyes of Mary (fig. 9.40. Handbook of the Confraternity of the Sorrowful Mother, 1774, engraving of the Sorrowful Mother).¹⁰⁹ Members should imprint Christ's wounds daily in their memory, and use the meditation while witnessing the sacrifice of the Mass.

These booklets guided individuals in the collective life of brotherhoods. Each member could carry home the heart of the brotherhood's devotions and practices, and the particular knowledge required for participation. On a superficial level they all may have sent the same message, to live a good Christian life. But the sharp diversity of means and ends that separated one from another calls to mind how the Emperor Joseph II had attacked the endless proliferation of what he dismissed as useless cults. They were not at all grassroots growth, but instead hybrids carefully cultivated and planted to attract all kinds of people into the parish church.

9.12 Devotional Prints: Beldekens: Little Images

Even though the inventories of 1786 record devotional prints as the property of only seven of St. Jacob's brotherhoods, documents and surviving impressions show that fifteen actually used them. Those that did not stood outside the conventional boundaries (St. Ivo for the legal profession, Thunder and Lightning for St. Jacob's artisans, and St. Cecilia for musicians whose brotherhood left hardly a trace). For the rest, "little images" supplied the most common and abundant kind of cheap print. Like several of the chapels in St. Jacob's (see above chapter 8), the brotherhoods distributed "beldekens" on feast days and jubilees as one of the customary touches to mark the occasion. They might be handed out as rewards for participation. In 1730 St. Jacob's Trinity Brotherhood distributed three-dozen "beldekens" along with sugar cookies to the children who marched as angels in their procession.¹¹⁰ The different names for these prints—little images, prayer cards, litanies, indulgences, prayers, suffrages—and their varied formats—small tag (4 × 9.5 cm), lavish engraving with fold out prayer (19 × 32 cm), sometimes dominated by a picture, other times mostly words—capture the diversity of uses to which they might be put.¹¹¹

109 *Kort Begryp* 1774.

110 RAAKASJA B.42, 61v.

111 On production and use of these prints in Counter Reformation Antwerp see Thijs 1993; on evidence of use drawn from more recent prints see Frijhoff 1990. It is striking that both these historians assembled their own collections of prints as important sources for their work.

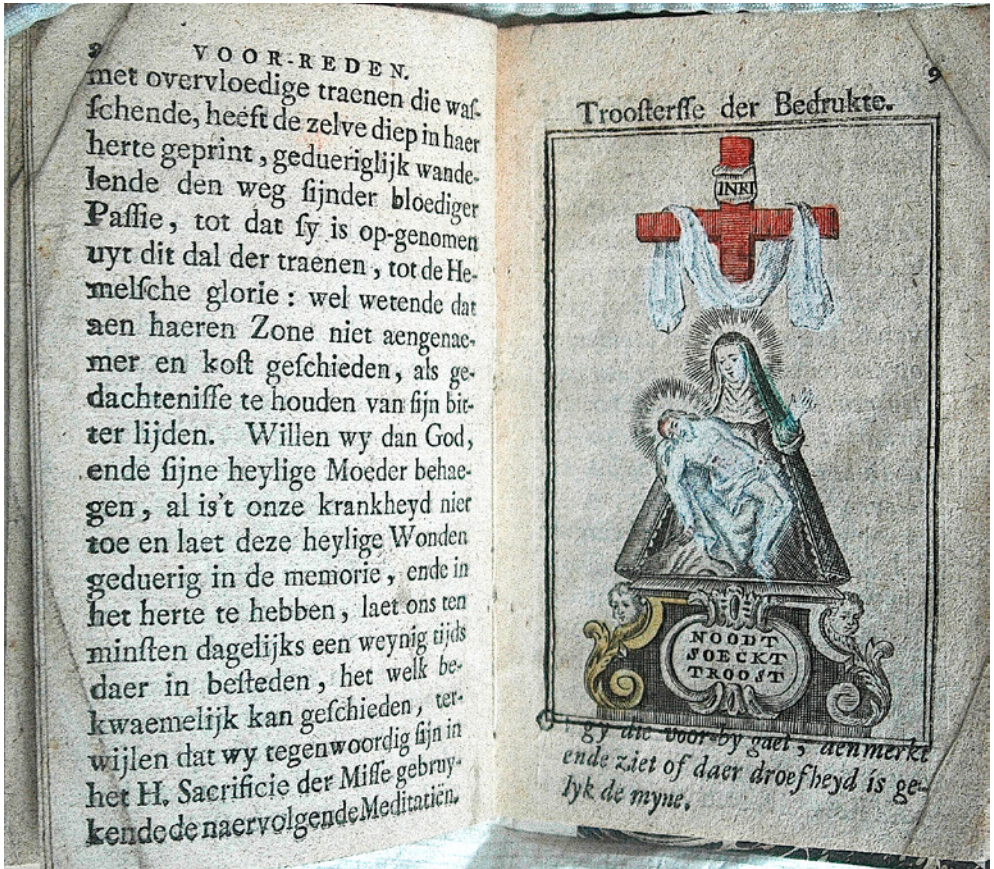


FIGURE 9.40 *Kort Begryp* 1774, 9: Sorrowful Mother, hand-colored engraving. Erfgoed Bibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp F85530.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Some brotherhoods in St. Jacob's instructed members on how to use devotional prints. The 1759 *Life of St. Donatus* first recommended "Paternosters, little images, ribbons, and medallions, but above all prayer cards ("briefkens"), which had touched the holy body, as a guaranteed shield against thunder and lightning," and then mounted a spirited defense of their value. They may be the innocent signs of popular piety (van het volk). But just as Christ's garments, St. Paul's linen, and St. Peter's shadow all cured the sick, so why cannot omnipotent God lend simple prayer cards the same virtue that He has impressed (*ingedrukt*) on the bodies of the saints? Every statement in this argument is punctuated with question marks, meant to question in turn "the all too great

liberty taken in challenging the practice of piety in the Church,” leading “us gradually to condemn that which Religion holds most sacred.” A farmer, who laid down a little image (*klyn Beëldeken*) of St. Donatus in his field, found that his field was protected while those of his neighbors were destroyed by lightning. A three-year old girl was saved from fire by the image of St. Donatus that her mother hung around her neck. More examples followed to prove the point.¹¹²

This defense of innocent faith among the people did not prevent the members of St. Jacob's elite Confraternity of St. John Nepomucenus from carrying an image of their saint (fig. 9.41. Engraving of the St. Jacob's image of St. John Nepomucenus, 1751). Educated gentlemen, in conformance with the Council of Trent, would be spurred to imitate St. John Nepomucenus' virtuous discretion, especially in protecting the honor and reputation of their fellow men.¹¹³ Different rationales, guided by the prevailing class stereotypes, simultaneously encouraged the same practice in the “learned,” exclusively male Confraternity of St. John Nepomucenus and among the “simple people” who had joined the Brotherhood of St. Donatus.¹¹⁴

St. Jacob' Brotherhood of Faithful Souls in Purgatory put “suffrages” to another use completely, as prompts to prayers for the dead. Their assistant was charged in 1746 to carry these prints to the houses of officers and contributors before each service for souls, after he had inscribed them with the names of all members who had died the previous month. The living were alerted to fulfill their responsibility to the dead.¹¹⁵

The varied uses of the “little images” increased with the diverse cults of the brotherhoods and also reflected the size and social composition of

112 *Het Leven van den H. Donatus* 1759, 33–35.

113 RAAKASJA B.82, Grooten Boeck der Confrerie van den Heylighen Joannes Nepomucenus, f.2r., rules for earning a full indulgence, approved May 9, 1753, by the founding members, all high ranking magistrates, nobles, and banker-merchants. It could be that images for the cult of St. John Nepomucenus in St. Jacob's were printed on silk so that they could withstand this long-term personal use. Thijs 1993, 140, suggests that silk met the needs of travelers who sought the special intercession granted by the saint.

114 See for example Molanus 1771, 90, who argues for toleration of innocuous and minor errors in images, including those of the five wounds of Christ in which feet, hands, and heart are cut out, not according to Scripture, but of a popular simplicity not unwelcome to God, enabling meditation.

115 RAAKASJA B.70, unpaginated, resolutions taken October 6, 1746.



FIGURE 9.41 Engraving of the St. Jacob's Image of St. John Nepomucenus, 1751.
FAA.

membership. Confraternities seeking to attract a wide following ordered up to 7,000 impressions annually.¹¹⁶ Professional and journeymen brotherhoods, like the guild chapels in St. Jacob's, usually published only one or two hundred prints a year, although quantities increased significantly to 2,000 or more on special occasions such as jubilees.¹¹⁷ Some of these workers' brotherhoods, humble in status, compensated with larger and more elaborately conceived prints. Jan Baptist Guldens, a shoemaker himself, designed an engraving for the Shoemakers Journeymen that depicts the magnificent altar retable the brotherhood would have built in honor of their saints, Crispin and Crispinian, if they could have afforded it.¹¹⁸ More overtly self-aggrandizing, the coachmen of St. Guido advertised by inscription and picture in a print of 1754 how they transported potentates through the streets. Their loyalty was rewarded by the favor of patron saints Guido and Eligius, and also, in the center, by St. Roch whose chapel in St. Jacob's they shared, in the shadow of the aristocrats who directed the chapel and whom the coachmen served (fig. 9.42).¹¹⁹

St. Jacob's still owns the copper plate used to print the Coachmen of St. Guido's engraving, along with plates for the prints of several other confraternities and chapels (fig. 9.43). Because the confraternities commissioned their own prints, this most labor intensive and expensive investment in production remained as their property (see table 9.1). Publishers would issue new editions and

116 Confraternity of the Agony of Death printed 2,000 "beldekens" in 1694 (FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/2); Confraternity of Faithful Souls printed 1,500 suffrages in 1790 (RAAKASJA B.71, Rekeninge der Heeren Directeurs van de Goddelijke Diensten tot Laevenisse der Geloovige Zielen in de Collegiale en Parochiale Kerke van den H. Jacobus); Confraternity of the Holy Trinity printed 4,200 suffrages in 1726, 7,030 in 1735 (RAAKASJA B.42, f.41v; f.89v).

117 Tailors Journeymen Brotherhood of St. Boniface, RAAKASJA B.73, Rekenboek 1731–1756: 1733–1734, f.21v: Item betaelt aen twee hondert beeldekens als blyckt by quittance aende huys vrouwe van Joannes De Wael à 12 stuivers het hondert g. 1: 4; 1734–1735, f.25r: 20 april aen jouffrouw de wael voor 300 hoffer belekens 1–16.

118 Thijs 1993, 125–127.

119 RAAKASJA B.77, Litany and Dry Gebedekens tot den H. Guido, with lavish fold out engraving of Saints Guido, Eligius, and Roch, and indulgence of 40 days granted to brothers and sisters of the brotherhood by Dominicus de Gentis, bishop of Antwerp, Sept. 5, 1754. Engraving: plate: h. 25.5 × w. 15.7 cm. For affiliation with the St. Roch Chapel, see above, n.46. Dependence on their noble masters also can be seen in the addresses given by the coachmen along with their annual dues in 1796, listing the best streets in St. Jacob's parish: Keizer Str., Langenieuwestr., Kipdorp, Venusstr., op de Meir, and other streets outside the parish, where the coachmen presumably lived in their masters' homes: RAAKASJA (old number 575), Rekeningboek of the St. Guido Confraternity, 1796–1817, 1796, chapter 2, receipt of annual dues organized by the streets in which members lived.



FIGURE 9.42 *Litany and three prayers for St. Guido and 1754 indulgence for the Coachmen of St. Guido Brotherhood, with engraving of Saints Guido, Eligius, and Roch above, coachmen below.*

RAAKASJA.

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 9.43

Copper plate for the engraving reproduced in fig. 9.42.

KIK M050049.

reinforce the engraving of worn out plates on demand. The brotherhoods therefore could choose the artists, dictate the content, and control the quality of the prints they distributed.

9.13 Placards

To publicize its inauguration in St. Jacob's on April 12, 1643, the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity printed eighty-two placards that were affixed to church doors and proclaimed from every pulpit.¹²⁰ Brotherhoods, like other church and state institutions, used placards as one of the most effective media for communicating with a large public audience.¹²¹ Depending on the geographical reach of the confraternity and the nature of the event advertised, placards could mark different territories and boundaries, from the parish to the whole

¹²⁰ RAAKASJA B.39, Institutionem huius Archisodalitatis sollicitavit, procuravit, et promovit Franciscus Vanden Bossche Bruxellensis, Pastor Ecclesiae S. Jacobi, teriti anno suae residentiae. Qui & haec Chronica collegit, et descripsit, 18.

¹²¹ See San Juan 2001, 23–56, for a searching analysis of how placards, or as she calls them, street posters, “bandi” in Italian, shaped experiences of urban space in 17th-century Rome.

city.¹²² St. Jacob's confraternities routinely posted placards that notified members and others who might be attracted to both regular services and to feast day and jubilee celebrations. In 1746, for example, St. Jacob's Confraternity of Faithful Souls instructed their assistant to affix placards early in the morning on the Saturday before the second Sunday of each month to the house of their canon protector, in the churchwardens' chamber, on church doors, and also to carry them to church pulpits.¹²³

Reading aloud informed those who could not read, and reinforced the message for those who could. But the placards also were designed to attract and impress passersby (fig. 9.44). Large in scale, printed on 42 × 30 cm sheets of paper, they immediately projected essential information in big bold black letters visible from a distance—FULL INDULGENCE/ GUIDO/ ST. JACOB'S—and then filled in the details using smaller sizes of type legible only close up. At this closer distance a descending scale of font sizes signaled again what was most important. A woodcut inset of the papal arms sealed the whole message with supreme authority. Finally, the Cathedral Chapter's official censor attested below that he had seen and approved the placard, as a mark of the Catholic Church's effort to control public communication in print.¹²⁴

The frequent posting of confraternity placards on church doors and elsewhere throughout the city contributed to a larger process through the sanctification of public space in Antwerp, which I will examine in a later chapter.

9.14 Cheap Print for Special Occasions: Inaugurations and Jubilees

Brotherhoods commissioned all three kinds of cheap print together and in greater quantities as part of the coordinated efforts to celebrate their foundations and to mark their jubilee anniversaries at intervals of twenty-five years. Supported by St. Jacob's churchwardens the Brotherhood of the Agony of Death could set itself up all at once by staging a glorious inauguration in 1693. Publisher Bartholomeus Foppens printed 1,100 "indulgence booklets," bound in marbled paper, fifty placards to affix around the city, and 1,100 single sheet indulgences. Engraver Gaspar Bouttats cut the plates and printed

122 See the placard published for St. Jacob's Viaticum Confraternity advertising a collection "through this parish (doór deze Parochie)": FAA K 1871, probably in 1801 after the Concordat permitted religious processions.

123 RAAKASJA B.70., unpaginated, resolution of Oct. 6, 1746.

124 Marked "Van Ceslt Vt.," probably A. van Celst, canon of the Cathedral Chapter starting in 1777: Prims 1977–1985, VII, 394.



FIGURE 9.44 *Placard for the Confraternity of St. Guido.* RAAKASJA.
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

two thousand copies of the large and one thousand of the small devotional prints (*beldekens*). Thirty pieces of rented tapestry made a temporary show of magnificence. Preachers delivered hours of sermons. Sixteen extra musicians joined the church's choir to perform at high mass and in the procession. Jan-Erasmus Quellinus installed his altarpiece in the favored position on the north side of the rood screen, replacing Theodoor Boyermans *Resurrection*,

painted twenty years earlier for the location, and now removed, in a permanent change that may have furthered the cause of devotion but harmed the symmetry of the original design.¹²⁵ Cheap print publicized and disseminated what tapestry, music, liturgy, and painting glorified. From the inauguration of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood in 1643 to the jubilee of the Journeymen Tailors Confraternity of St. Boniface in 1781, the brotherhoods of St. Jacob's mounted these lavish celebrations as an indispensable assertion of their presence in the church and the city.¹²⁶

9.15 The Politics of Confraternity

It is evident that some confraternities in St. Jacob's owed their origins to political events and pressures. A brotherhood dedicated to the military aspect of St. James as Christian Soldier was founded on April 18, 1672, to rally the officers of Antwerp's civic guard against the immediate threat of invasion from the armies of Louis XIV (declares war against the United Provinces, April 6; crosses Spanish Netherlands in May; Dutch try to raise civic militias in resistance).¹²⁷ Surrogate images of the king of Spain and of the Spanish governor of the South Netherlands presided over its inauguration. Its spiritual director, the abbot of St. Michael's Abbey who was the head of Antwerp's regular clergy, and its worldly director, the burgomaster for external affairs, represented the

125 RAAKASJA B.67 receipt from Foppens, Bouttats, for tapestries, costs for sermons and masses, receipt from St. Jacob's song master Joannes Quiva for musicians; RAAKASJA (old number 560), 692, transcription by Van Lerijs: Ontvangen by my onderschreven de somme van veertich pattacons in speci, tot betaling van een auterstuck gemaect voor de heeren Kerckmeesters van S. Jacobs Kerck, waer mede ick kenne voldaan te syn. Actum 10 Juni ao 1693. Florinen 104. J.E. Quellinus.

126 RAAKASJA B.39, Institutionem huius Archisodalitatis sollicitavit, procuravit, et promovit Franciscus Vanden Bossche Bruxellensis, Pastor Ecclesiae S. Jacobi, teriti anno suae residentiae. Qui & haec Chronica collegit, et descripsit, account of the inauguration of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity on April 12, 1643, 17–20; RAAKASJA B.42, Rekeningen van het Aertsbroderschap der Allerheyligste Dryvuldigheyd, tot verlossing der Christene Slaeven. 1717–1749, f.146v.–148v., account of expenditures for the hundred year jubilee, May 12, 1743; RAAKASJA B.75, Boek der Rekeningen der Kleermakers Gasten; Over den Ontfang, en Uytgeef: Door Alle Afgaende, ende Aen-Koomende, Dekens. Onder den tytel, van den Heyligen Bonifacius Begonst, op 9 Decembr: 1731. en Deeze Boek Begint in't Jubel Jaer op 14 Mey Anno 1781: f.6r., May 14, 1781, payments for the jubilee.

127 Israel 1995, 796–797.

local interdependence of Church and State. Even the two centers of its activity, St. Jacob's high altar where the brotherhood celebrated religious devotion and the Civic Guard Chamber in the Town Hall where it met for business, joined faith and politics to strengthen the loyalty of the local militia in a time of crisis.

The Confraternity of St. Ivo, which all of Antwerp's legal profession was obliged to join, also had one foot in St. Jacob's (Biel Chapel) and the other in the Town Hall where it met annually to elect new officers. The brotherhood's founders petitioned for approval from both the city government and the bishop, thus conforming to the Counter Reformation model of central episcopal control over confraternities. Burgomasters, archdeacons of the diocese, aldermen, and Cathedral canons served as its deans, many of them licentiate or doctors in both canon and civic law, again combining Church and State. From its establishment in 1630 the Confraternity of St. Ivo required all members to attend the mass and sermon held each year on the saint's feast day. In imitation of Ivo, they contributed *pro bono* work on behalf of widows, orphans, and the poor, as Gerard Seghers depicted the saint in their chapel's altarpiece (see above, fig. 9.2). By organizing itself as a confraternity, and not as a guild or academy, Antwerp's legal profession took a decisive step, unprecedented in the South Netherlands during the 17th century, to ally itself with the Catholic Church, assuming a religious aspect that also penetrated the political character of the Magistracy from which the confraternity drew its membership.¹²⁸ In 1650 when the brotherhood encountered resistance from within against paying dues and attending mass, Antwerp's Magistracy proclaimed St. Ivo's feast day an official holiday, thus shutting down all legal transactions, compelling attendance, and imposing a more sacred character on life in the city.¹²⁹ It is striking that Antwerp's Magistracy compelled the city's legal profession and civic militia to join religious brotherhoods, requiring a kind of collective oath of loyalty to the Hapsburg-Catholic state.

Two other exclusively male elite groups voluntarily established brotherhoods in St. Jacob's to forge solidarity at moments when their grip on power was threatened, mixing politics with religion again, but less overtly. First, Jonker Alexander Bathasar Roelants, who had seized control of the St. Roch Chapel in 1657 (see above, chapter 8), led nobles and patrician magistrates to found the Brotherhood of St. Roch in 1658, the year in which the ruling elite's position was challenged in Antwerp more seriously than at any other time

¹²⁸ De Ridder-Symoens 2008.

¹²⁹ Geudens 1905, 11.

during the 17th century.¹³⁰ Roelants, as Royal Postmaster of Antwerp, stood at the center of the crisis when the Council of Brabant judged on Sept. 2, 1658, that an independent postal service violated his privileges and the monopoly of the Count of Turm and Tassis, Royal Postmaster for the whole region. While the city Magistracy submitted to this judgment, the fourth member of the Brede Raad (the most broadly representative, least powerful part of the city government)—the deans of Antwerp's privileged guilds—resisted, and continued in defiance to operate the independent postal service.¹³¹ On Sept. 30, 1659, sentences of banishment announced against the leaders of the resistance provoked rebellious violence. The crowd attacked two main targets. They smashed the windows of Roelants' house. They also ransacked the house and burned the coach of Hendrik van Halmale, sitting burgomaster and, in his capacity as senior churchwarden of St. Jacob's, Roelants' key ally in wresting control of the St. Roch Chapel in 1657 from chapel wardens who represented the guilds. The real test of power between rulers and subordinates reached its climax in 1659 when it was decided only by the external force of the Spanish army which restored order and strengthened the authority of the patrician Magistracy in Antwerp.¹³² Through its association with the great Spanish king Philip II and its appropriation by Roelants, the St. Roch Chapel had become a focal point of the conflict in 1658 when the brotherhood was established.¹³³ All its members belonged to the same circle of aristocrats and patrician magistrates exemplified by Roelants and Van Halmale. The Count of Turm and Tassis was first to sign the "Book of the Confraternity" that served only to display the noble status of the members.¹³⁴ In this case the new brotherhood appropriated a popular religious cult to strengthen the resolve of its members in the face of political conflict.¹³⁵

It is then no coincidence that the next crisis to threaten the stability of Antwerp's Magistracy prompted the formation of a second elite brother-

130 For this event in general, see Muller 2000.

131 On the composition of the Brede Raad see Van Acker 1989, 22. Marinus 1995, 74, stresses the representative function of the Brede Raad in opposing the city's subventions to ecclesiastical institutions.

132 Accounts of this uprising, the so-called "posterijen" rebellion are given by Prims 1977–1985, VI-A, 158–161; Van Honacker 1994, 143–151; and in a contemporary diary, Serrure ed. 1839.

133 See above, chapter 8, on the protection granted to the chapel by Philip II and also by William the Silent, Prince of Orange.

134 See above, this chapter.

135 See above, this chapter, for the continued popularity of St. Roch as intercessor in time of plague.

hood in St. Jacob's. Eleven aristocrats and patrician magistrates obtained the bishop's approval in May 1753 to found a brotherhood dedicated to St. John Nepomucenus who had chosen martyrdom over betraying the secrecy of confession.¹³⁶ This saint guarded the good reputation and honor of those who joined the new brotherhood at exactly the moment when they needed it. On Feb. 24, 1754, the Antwerp Magistracy responded to the Council of Brabant which accused the third and fourth members of the *Brede Raad*—the ward captains and the deans of the guilds—of “atrocious calumnies contained in their libel” against the magistrates. The ward captains already had charged the magistrates with calumny and infringement of their ancient rights in a request of Nov. 1753 to the Council of Brabant, and this charge developed from a conflict brewing in 1752 which then simmered during the next two years. In particular, representatives of the ward captains and guild deans had pleaded their case before the Council of Brabant on March 7, 1753, and on May 17, 1753 (the day after the new brotherhood held its first annual celebration on the feast day of St. John Nepomucenus's martyrdom) launched their sharpest attack against the Antwerp magistrates. In their request of Nov. 1753, the ward captains accused some members in the Magistracy of sowing dissension for their own private ends, to conceal the squandering of public funds, and to hide illicit transactions.¹³⁷ It was this kind of serious charge and disrespect which pushed the magistrates to found their brotherhood for “protection against backbiting and to preserve the honor and reputation of their fellow men”. Both sides in the debate appealed repeatedly to the precedents established by the conflict they had fought over the postal service almost a century before, and which, I have argued, prompted foundation of the Brotherhood of St. Roch. That earlier event served as the point of reference for the crisis of 1752–54, because during the interim no serious internal threat jeopardized the stability of Antwerp's government. The two single most explosive points in two centuries of Antwerp's politics each resulted in the establishment of an elite brotherhood in St. Jacob's. In both cases a work of art—the altar for St. Roch and the statue for St. John Nepomucenus—formed the nucleus around which the new group cohered. Religion symbolized in art generated political power. In both cases St. Jacob's' status as the parish church of Antwerp's elite made it the likely place to house the brotherhoods.

A more public, citywide mix of politics with religion triggered the foundation of six parish-based brotherhoods devoted to carrying the Eucharist in procession to the sick and dying. St. Jacob's branch of the *viaticum confraternity*

136 See Muller 2006, for a detailed account of the foundation of this brotherhood.

137 For accounts of these events see Prims 1977–1985, VII, 45–50; Van Honacker 1994, 151–158.

was the last of the six, organized in 1676, and patterned on the first, established 1672 in the South Quarter Parish of Antwerp Cathedral with help of a bequest from Antwerp merchant Pedro Verbiest, who set on a permanent footing a practice of public devotion that had taken shape gradually.¹³⁸ Viaticum processions synthesized diverse practices and doctrines which had been strongly affirmed by the Catholic Church in response to Protestant attacks against the sacrament of the Eucharist. Christ's body really is present in the consecrated host which should be worshipped as God and "borne reverently and with honor in processions through the streets and public places." Further, "the practice of carrying the Sacred Eucharist to the sick and of carefully reserving it for this purpose in churches," is of ancient usage and should be continued. Finally, people were encouraged to confess and commune frequently to increase their direct bond with Christ and the Church.¹³⁹ In 1570 the first Provincial Synod of the Archdiocese of Mechelen, which included Antwerp, required pastors who carried the viaticum to dress properly in a short white robe (*roket*) with stole. A sacristan came first, also in a short white robe, holding a lamp in one hand and ringing a bell with the other. At the Provincial Synod of 1607 provision was made for the first time to carry the sacrament repeatedly to the sick, thus including the viaticum in the practice of frequent communion. By 1609 there were reports of parishioners who accompanied the viaticum with burning torches, but only at irregular intervals. Members of the Jesuit Marian Sodality of Married Men began around 1665 to join the processions, carrying lanterns and torches along with a baldachin over the consecrated host, and supplemented by boys recruited from the orphanages whenever there were not enough volunteers. After Pedro Verbiest's bequest of six silver lanterns, a baldachin, torches, priest's cope, wages for five chaplains to carry the baldachin and a banner, and to pay four musicians, the pastor of the South Parish of the Cathedral founded the Viaticum Brotherhood in Dec. 1672. He argued that, since kings and princes—all sinners—are attended by a train, the faithful should witness their belief by accompanying the viaticum every other week on

138 RAAKASJA B.60, Resolutieboek of the Brotherhood, 1676–1722, unpaginated, under the heading of ordinances and statues. The principal goal of the Confraternity is to lay the foundations for increasing devotion to the Eucharist by carrying it to the sick in the parish, "realizing in St. Jacob's Parish the kind of excellent foundation recently bequeathed and found in the Our Lady Parish by the late Mr. Verbiest." (...sal connen voltrocken worden in den Parochie van St. Jacob soodanige treffelycke fondatie als onlanxx gelaeten ende gefondeert is inde parochie van onse Lieve Vrouwe by wylen den heere Verbiest.) See Prims 1948 *De Antwerpse broederschappen*.

139 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 1950, 73–38, Thirteenth Session, Chapters 1–VIII.

Wednesday. The city government agreed with the bishop of Antwerp to encourage the foundation of fortnightly viaticum brotherhoods in the other parishes, including St. Jacob's, which staged its processions on Thursdays.¹⁴⁰ Members were expected more to pay for than to participate regularly in the processions. Only those who could afford a substantial contribution were allowed to join, and their numbers were few.¹⁴¹

I would suggest that these brotherhoods, which filled the city with regular elaborate processions displaying the divine presence of the King of Kings, compensated for the increasing absence of real State power as the presence of an enfeebled Spanish monarchy faded away. I already have argued that the new Brotherhood of St. James was founded in 1672 to strengthen the resolve of the Civic Guard against the French invasion which materialized in that year. By April and May 1674 Dutch soldiers, now allied with Spain against France, tramped through Antwerp. On April 30, 1676, the alarm sounded at eleven in the night; the French were only miles from the city. During May, when the Brotherhood of the Viaticum was founded at St. Jacob's, preparations were underway to withstand a siege that never actually materialized.¹⁴² At this moment, only the Church could project an image of stability. The social pressure exerted by Counter Reformation Eucharistic processions is vividly described in reports by Protestant visitors earlier in the 17th century who were intimidated and frightened by the hostility of the Catholic crowd when they refused to genuflect.¹⁴³ In their increasingly frequent encounters with the more splendid viaticum brotherhood processions, Antwerp's populace must have been constrained at regular intervals to bend the knee in a gesture of reverence to this great power among them which only the Catholic Church could control. The viaticum procession, as will be shown later (chapter 11), furnished the most potent symbol of Catholic resistance against the occupying forces of the French Republic late in the 18th century.

Another kind of resistance to change was built into the citywide network of confraternities devoted to teaching Christian doctrine, instituted by Reginaldus Cools, the bishop of Antwerp, in 1703. He invoked the great Counter Reformation precedents set by Carlo Borromeo and Pope Pius V who championed confraternities of Christian doctrine late in the 16th century as an effective means to combat the ignorance and heresy that had undermined the

140 See Prims 1948, *De Antwerpse broederschappen*, 10–24; Prims 1948, "Het Guldenboek," 252.

141 See Appendix 2.

142 Prims 1977–1985, VI-A, 165–166.

143 Goris 1940, 70–71, 73–74, 161.

Catholic Church.¹⁴⁴ Early in the 18th century Cools sounded the alarm against the devil who attacked the Church through pernicious books (some of which denied the devil's very existence) filled with evil lies that seduced wayward Catholics into dissolute lives.¹⁴⁵ The brotherhoods of Christian doctrine with a branch in every parish would fight these new enemies, secularization and Enlightenment rationalism, by reinforcing the lessons of catechism, especially in the minds of children preparing for their sacrament of confirmation. Monthly, four-page question and answer lessons, distributed among the parishes from 1703 to 1739 and gradually bound into a multi-volume collection, insured uniformity in the coordinated effort that helped keep Antwerp "the most Catholic city" in the South Netherlands.¹⁴⁶

Religious brotherhoods mediated economic as well as social and intellectual change to political ends. Alfons Thijs already has described and analyzed the rise of brotherhoods for craft journeymen in Antwerp which began in 1686 and continued throughout the 18th century.¹⁴⁷ The Jesuits, I think, established the decisive precedent early in the 17th century by founding sodalities in the South Netherlands exclusively for craft journeymen, and thus took the radical step of separating the workers from their masters. Until then, journeymen participated in the religious activities of the guilds which were controlled by their masters. Louis Châtellier argues that the new sodalities fostered among the journeymen a group social identity which they had not possessed before, and that the workers' solidarity in Antwerp fed the violence of the Post Office rebellion of 1659 that I already have connected with the Brotherhood of St. Roch at St. Jacob's. According to Châtellier, the Jesuits subsequently integrated the journeymen back into the masters' congregations, thus breaking down the separation that had proved dangerous to the established order.¹⁴⁸ As the Jesuit sodalities for journeymen were eliminated and Jesuit sodalities in general declined towards the end of the 17th century, it was only in Antwerp, among all South Netherlands cities, that the new unofficial brotherhoods for journeymen emerged.¹⁴⁹ These brotherhoods offered measures of divine

144 *Instelling en Regels van het Allerchristelykste Aerts-Broederschap der Christelyke Leeringe* 1703, 3–5.

145 See Israel 2001, 375–405, on the Enlightenment denial of the devil, and the furor it aroused.

146 Thijs 1990, 90; *Instelling en Regels van het Allerchristelykste Aerts-Broederschap der Christelyke Leeringe*, 3–10, and the lesson for Aug. 1703.

147 Thijs 1994, 240–252.

148 Châtellier 1989, 121–128; qualified by Marinus 1995, 259.

149 Châtellier 1989, 179–192, on reasons for the decline of Jesuit sodalities; Thijs 1994, 252, and 276, n.106, on the unique status of Antwerp's journeymen brotherhoods.

solace, mutual support, conviviality, and social prestige to workmen pressed by the brutal force of industrialization that transformed Antwerp's means of production from guild workshops to factories in the course of the 18th century.¹⁵⁰

Out of eleven journeymen confraternities, three were affiliated with St. Jacob's; shoemakers (founded 1686 and the first of these brotherhoods), linen weavers, and tailors (see Appendix 2). All three made pointed statements through their choice to associate with St. Jacob's. Since the Tailors and Shoemakers guilds both maintained altars in Antwerp Cathedral, the journeymen declared their independence and distance from the masters by setting up brotherhoods in the parish church instead. In the case of the Tailors, the rift institutionalized long-standing conflicts over workers' rights. Masters fought so bitterly with journeymen that the guild could no longer pretend to represent the interests of owners and employees alike. In 1715 the masters accused the journeymen of organizing illegally to reduce their workday from fourteen to thirteen hours.¹⁵¹ Pressed by their masters, the journeymen also faced the mechanization of their crafts, the devaluation of their skills, and the expansion of female and child labor that pushed down their wages and undermined their social status.

Was the new brotherhood an effective workers' organization or the Church's instrument to co-opt and quiet potential unrest? It needs to be stressed that industrialization placed the interests of the journeymen in a conservative position, where they needed both a strong voice to address the masters and a political force to resist the economic and government powers that threatened the protective cocoon of the guild structure. By giving them a home and active encouragement, the Catholic Church in Antwerp implicitly supported the conservative interests of the journeymen. This included the insurance of mutual aid for members who had fallen into poverty, the goal that led the coachmen's brotherhood of St. Guido to petition in 1738 for their return to St. Jacob's. Outside the church, they claimed, the brotherhood would wither away.¹⁵²

Beyond the confines of the city, the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Christian Slaves provided the most important means for the South Netherlands to grapple with the chronic international and interfaith crisis perpetuated by North African Muslims who enslaved more than a million Christian Europeans between 1580 and 1800.¹⁵³ In 1622 Jean-Baptiste Gramaye,

150 Lis 1986, 6–16.

151 Prims 1977–1985, VII, 269.

152 ABA Bundel v, Parochie, No. 36, Broederschap van H. Guido, Aug. 8, 1738, request readmission to St. Jacob's after having left, for "certain reasons," a year ago.

153 Davis 2003, 8–21, arrives at this figure using varied sources.

a priest baptized in St. Jacob's, first exhorted the princes of northern Europe to rescue their enslaved subjects. Gramaye, prominent in the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in Brussels, had himself been captured in 1619 by a Barbary ship and held captive for six months in Algiers. After his release he quickly published the account of his experiences as a call to action. While Italy and Spain spent enormous sums to ransom their citizens, English, French, Polish, Hungarian, German, and Belgian slaves were left to rot in Algiers, and even worse, to lose their souls when they converted to Islam. Gramaye narrated a frightening sequence of violent capture, dehumanizing obliteration of identity in the first days that ended in sale on the open market, sexual abuse, and forced labor under harsh conditions.¹⁵⁴

But only the increased vulnerability of the Spanish Netherlands prompted action. 1640 marked the peak of Algiers' slaving expeditions. After the end of the Twelve Years Truce in 1621 a Spanish embargo of Dutch shipping increased the volume of South Netherlands sea trade with the Iberian Peninsula and exposed their vessels to attack. Barbary corsairs hunted for ships flying the flags of the Hapsburg Empire, the mortal enemy of the Ottoman Empire in whose interests the Algerians, Tunisians, and Tripolitans acted. Sailors manning ships of the Spanish Netherlands were fair game.¹⁵⁵

Finally, the Spanish government in Brussels responded through the agency of Charles Cobergher, superintendent since 1630 of the Church-State system of loan banks, the Mounts of Piety, organized by his father Wenzel Cobergher in 1618 to stimulate economic recovery. Early in the 1640s Charles Cobergher adapted the organizational model of the Mounts of Piety to set up a new Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Christian Slaves. He persuaded the bishops of Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and other cities to establish branches of the Confraternity in all the major towns of the Catholic Netherlands, just as his father Wenzel obtained permission from the bishops to locate branches of the Mounts of Piety in cities throughout the region.¹⁵⁶

This new Arch-Confraternity was different from its Italian counterparts in exactly the way that the Spanish Netherlands Mounts of Piety systematized the

154 Ben Mansour 1998, 37–44 on Gramaye; 282–311, Gramaye's diary.

155 Davis 2003, 27, 47; Israel 1995, 314–315, 478, on the embargo.

156 Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 76, states that Carolus Cobergher recommended erection of branches of the Arch-Confraternity in their cities to the bishops of Ghent, Bruges, Yper, Namur, and other cities, and that Gaspar Nemius, bishop of Antwerp, sought and obtained Cobergher's cooperation in establishing the Confraternity in St. Jacob's. For the organization of the Mounts of Piety (Bergen van Barmhertigheid) and for the responsibilities of the Coberghers, father and son, see Soetaert 1986, 91–127.

model of the Italian *Monti di Pietà* into a unified national organization. Robert Davis has documented the local, patchwork character of the Italian confraternities founded to free Christian slaves, often grafted onto already existing brotherhoods with diverse traditions, each city negotiating for release of its own citizens. At the opposite extreme, during the 17th century the Spanish monarchy controlled the redemption of its subjects directly through the Trinitarian and Mercedarian orders, and in Spain brotherhoods apparently did not make a significant contribution.¹⁵⁷ The South Netherlands Arch-Confraternity of the Trinity occupied a middle position. It was united and national instead of fragmented and local, and worked through the Trinitarian order, without the pressure of tight control from the central government in Brussels. Because the wealthy merchants living in St. Jacob's parish dominated trade between the South Netherlands and the Iberian Peninsula, it makes sense that the Antwerp branch of the Trinity Brotherhood would be located in their church.¹⁵⁸

Starting in 1643 the Brotherhood of the Trinity defined for most people in Antwerp the issue of Muslim African enslavement of Christian Europeans. During its 150-year history the confraternity attracted thousands of members and accumulated far more wealth than any other brotherhood in the city. It bought the freedom of some 300 Christian slaves.¹⁵⁹ I already have discussed the variety of images, books, processions, and ceremonies the Trinity Brotherhood employed to advertise its mission. These visual signs stand out even more prominently when set against the predominantly textual ground that Linda Colley traces as the medium used in Great Britain to appeal for donations that would ransom enslaved compatriots.¹⁶⁰

By associating the liberation of Christian slaves with the Trinity and the monastic order of the Trinitarians, the Arch-Confraternity asserted the doctrines and practices of Catholicism, not only against Islam, but more immediately, against the Calvinist enemy a few miles to the north in the United Provinces of the Netherlands. That opposition paid practical dividends when, between 1734 and 1750, the Antwerp branch of the confraternity received a new infusion of cash from Dutch Catholics who saw the Trinitarians as the most efficient intermediaries for negotiating the release of slaves.¹⁶¹

157 Davis 2003, 145–153.

158 RAAKASJA B.39, 19, 30, documents support of the confraternity from wealthy merchants in the parish.

159 Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 108.

160 Colley 2004, 122.

161 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 107.

It is tempting to find in the imagery employed by the Antwerp Trinity Brotherhood the origins of an Imperialist demonization of the Muslim, dark other that formed in the nineteenth century. But a comparison with the illustrations of 17th-century captivity narratives produces instead a strong contrast. Depictions of whipping and torture in these books, for example William Okeley's account printed in 1675, derive from a conventionalized iconography of martyrdom with which Protestants and Roman Catholics had accused each other of atrocities.¹⁶² The textual and visual imagery disseminated by Antwerp's Trinity Brotherhood is remarkably gentle, avoids extreme depictions of brutality, does not always conflate black skin color with Muslim, and implies equality in the two slaves exchanged by the angel.

The religious context of the brotherhood in Antwerp may have given the enterprise a milder tone. Charity is emphasized. And it is easy to ignore the devotional purpose of the brotherhood that celebrated the feast of the Trinity, offered a dazzling array of indulgences available throughout the year in return for reciting prayers to the Trinity, wearing the scapular of the brotherhood with the Trinitarian cross, or visiting St. Jacob's as a surrogate destination for pilgrimage.¹⁶³ By a strange analogy, the Brotherhood of the Trinity for the Redemption of Christian Slaves is most similar to those brotherhoods devoted to freeing souls from purgatory and to guiding souls across the threshold of a difficult death, brotherhoods that gained popularity in Antwerp and St. Jacob's late in the 17th century. That relationship is depicted explicitly in one of a cycle of paintings made by Gillis Smeyers in 1687 for the Mechelen branch of the Trinity Arch-Confraternity housed there in the St. Janskerk.¹⁶⁴ Christian slaves endure torments in the foreground and behind them angels proffer Trinitarian scapulars to free souls from their suffering in the fires of purgatory (fig. 9.45). The Trinity Brotherhood actually could parade before the Catholic city the souls it had freed from spiritual death in Islam.¹⁶⁵ The church, its images, and parish streets shaped the meaning of this community.

162 Colley 2004, 100, illus. 18: frontispiece to William Okeley, *Eben-ezer: or a Small Monument of Great Mercy*, London, 1675.

163 Van den Bossche 1647, 60–61.

164 http://www.erfgoedcelmechelen.be/images/filelib/ontsluitingsplanfinaleversiefebruari2013goedgekeurdcollege_2258.pdf, 20, accessed Aug. 6, 2015.

165 Davis 2003, 183–184, emphasizes the value of these rituals for reintegrating former slaves into Christian society.



FIGURE 9.45 Gillis Smeyers, *The Virgin Mary intercedes for Christian slaves held in captivity and for members of the Trinity brotherhood in purgatory who wore the Trinitarian scapular at their death*. Mechelen, St. Jan's Church.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

9.16 Conclusion

That community, in the Trinity Brotherhood and all the other Antwerp confraternities, ordered itself along lines separated by gender and wealth. Elite and professional brotherhoods excluded women. But in confraternities that admitted them, women overwhelmed in numbers, often dominating membership by a ratio of 4 to 1. Women joined mass brotherhoods at Kortrijk in similar numbers during the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁶⁶ It is likely that the figures for Antwerp are typical and representative of the whole region. However, even in brotherhoods with a majority of women, the officers were exclusively male. Membership lists of the mass brotherhoods were organized according to an

¹⁶⁶ Defoort 1986, 65–72.

explicit hierarchy based on wealth and gender. In the St. Jacob's Confraternity of St. Donatus, for example, beginning in 1759 the exclusively male "torch bearers," who were listed first, each paid annual dues of 1 guilder 8 stivers (around one week's average income for an Antwerp silk weaver in 1780). They were followed by the "contributors," who donated 4 or 8 stivers (20 stivers = 1 guilder). Most of these contributors were women who lived in the best streets of St. Jacob's parish; many of them identified as housewives, widows, beguines, "spiritual daughters," and nuns, who often subscribed in family or conventual groups. "Non-contributors," mostly women, inscribed themselves third and last, their status and residence seldom indicated.¹⁶⁷ It is an open question whether the uneducated workers of Antwerp, who lived on subsistence wages—37% of a population around 60,000 in 1667 and 65% of around 45,000 at the end of the 18th century—, joined the city's confraternities.¹⁶⁸

Prayer was the work of women. Convents of nuns assured the supply of a highly valued resource for cities that believed their fates could be changed by divine intervention. Confraternities significantly expanded the volume of prayer the city could offer to obtain St. Donatus' intercession against destruction by thunder and lightning or to shorten the suffering of dead souls in purgatory. If women discovered that participation in confraternities offered them their one opportunity to engage in public and communal life outside home or convent, then they were likely to join.

For thousands of women in Antwerp, but also for disenfranchised journeymen, for the city's coachmen, for the most powerful nobles and patrician magistrates, for the artisans of the church, for clerics and laity, for officers of the civic militia, for advocates and notaries, for wealthy merchants trading with the Iberian peninsula, for all these people confraternities in St. Jacob's had become the normal medium for taking collective action. Only one of these nineteen confraternities, the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning organized by the ten artisans of St. Jacob's to protect their church from fire, grew from grassroots. It was the smallest brotherhood, without episcopal approval, and was superseded quickly by the Confraternity of St. Donatus that extended a cult disseminated by the Jesuits throughout northern Europe.

All the other confraternities in St. Jacob's were organized as part of the strategy pursued by Church, State, and Magistracy to position Catholic religion at the center of society. The Jesuits, the bishop of Antwerp, the court at Brussels, the city Magistracy, mandated the foundation of brotherhoods or cultivated their devotions to make them available for selection by local groups. Recently

167 RAAKASJA B.86, membership inscriptions 1759–1786.

168 Baetens 1976, I, 277; Lis 1986, 16.

historians have demonstrated that subordinate people, above all women, but journeymen as well, exercised independent agency in hierarchical Counter Reformation Catholic societies through short-term tactical use of space and display for their own ends. I have demonstrated that elite nobles and patricians also could found brotherhoods to display solidarity in face of attack. But this kind of resistance presented no threat to the established order. Instead the Catholic Church had contained and absorbed political action precisely to conserve and strengthen its own power. This was the genius of a stable system that worked for two hundred years, and was disrupted only by the external force of the Austrian Empire and the French Republic late in the 18th century. In the last chapter, the second of the upcoming, I will consider how St. Jacob's brotherhoods defended themselves from these attacks.

Death in the Church

10.1 Introduction

Death was present everywhere in St. Jacob's. The Blessed Sacrament Chapel thrived when it expanded to build crypts where donors could rest in peace. Powerful families constructed new chapels and fought to control old ones where they could bury their dead over successive generations. By paying the full cost of the magnificent new high altar retable in 1684, Henricus Hillewerwe obtained exclusive rights to the crypt under that sacred place. Confraternities devoted themselves to a good death or to redeeming the souls of the dead in purgatory. But these and numerous other examples I have discussed still do not convey the central fact of death in the church, or how in St. Jacob's the living and the dead joined in a community of history and of eternal souls.

Death made its presence known in St. Jacob's more immediately before 1800 than today. In Alexander Casteels' 1716 view down the nave, dark oblong tomb slabs line up in perspective, disrupt the regular pattern of the checkerboard pavement, and make plain to everyone who entered that he or she walked over the bones of the dead (fig. 3.37).¹ Today, the smooth, monochrome grey floor, crowded over with wooden benches, obliterates signs of the dead. Gravestones have been shunted off to side chapels or discarded. Only a few churches, such as the Beguine churches at Mechelen and Leuven, keep vestiges of the carved slabs that transform the nave pavement into what feels like a graveyard (fig. 10.1). Another constant sign of death, the diamond shaped funerary escutcheons, emblazoned with coats of arms, which used to hang high up on pillars in the nave, also have been removed.² Willem von Ehrenberg's 1663 perspective of St. Jacob's captures the visual rhythm that they struck (see above, fig. 3.1).³ The church still owns a significant number of these funerary signs.

Most parishioners were buried in the churchyards that once nestled against the north and south sides of the building (see above, fig. 9.33, for a view of the south churchyard). These also are gone. The dead were removed, starting in 1786, to the suburban cemetery Op den Stuyvenberg, in obedience to Emperor Joseph II's decree of 1784 that prohibited burial inside city walls. That

1 Baisier 2008, I, 143–144.

2 Duerloo 1991, 173–174.

3 Baisier 2008, I, 111–122.



FIGURE 10.1 *View of the pavement of the Beguine Church in Leuven.*
 PHOTO: SARAH MORAN.

ordinance was enforced in the interest of public health. But it also contributed to a profound religious and cultural shift that moved death from the center of life.⁴ External powers forced the separation of the living from the dead that the Reformation already had accomplished in Protestant territories as the means to undermine the foundations of Catholic belief.⁵

This change shattered the community of the living and the dead so carefully pieced together by the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent. Late-medieval practices were reformed and brought into line after 1563.⁶ The system of spiritual charity devised to shorten the stay of souls burning in purgatory has been analyzed in detail. Privileged altars dispensed plenary indulgences sufficient to free a soul from torment in the cleansing flames.⁷ Lesser indulgences were available to those who accomplished different good works and acts of devotion. Donors endowed foundations to pay for masses in perpetuity on behalf of their own souls. Commemorative inscriptions and monuments beseeched the living to pray for the dead who were embraced as members of the Church Suffering (those in purgatory). A parish church, its crypts and churchyards filled with the dead, attracted the living, who could directly help their ancestors to a better place.

Given that the church, as a portal to heaven, was sanctified by consecration, by the relics of saints, crucifixes, images of Mary, prayers, frequent masses, and especially by the constant presence there of the consecrated host, the body of Christ, it was the most propitious place to wait for the resurrection of the flesh and the Last Judgment. Outside, in the south churchyard, the Sacrament Chapel installed a stone image of the consecrated host and lit a lantern to at least represent the grace of the Eucharist for the dead buried there.⁸

4 G  nard 1887, CXVI: note on the cemeteries Op den Stuyvenberg and Het Kiel. Joseph II's edict of June 26, 1784, prohibited burials in churches and churchyards in cities and in 1786 the Kiel and Stuyvenberg cemeteries were purchased and consecrated. Kerkhof op den Stuyvenberg for OLV North, St. Jacob's, St. Walburgis, closed 1875. Also see FAA, PK 3194, E. DILIS, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/12: Aanleg Kerkhoven Kiel en Stuyvenberg 1786: Aug. 6, 1786, H. van Gastel [procurer general of Brabant], Brussels, to churchwardens of the parishes of Antwerp, demanding contribution of "cinquante mille florins argent courant de Brabant pour subvenir a la construction des nouveaux cim  tieres de cette ville: also, successive records of payments by the churchwardens of St. Jacob's. For the broader movement to ban the dead from cities, see Petrucci 1998.

5 See Koslofsky 2000 (thanks to Pascale Rihouet for this reference).

6 Vovelle 1974, 126–127.

7 G  ttler 1996.

8 FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 23: carved outside of the marriage chapel at the edge of the churchyard by Sebastian van den Eynden who also produced the interior ornament of the marriage chapel.

At St. Jacob's the demand for burial in the church drove expansion of the Sacrament and Our Lady chapels, construction of the ambulatory chapels, magnificent decoration of the nave chapels, lavish gifts for the choir retable and enclosures, and burials stacked under one another beneath the pavement.⁹ The parish church, by embracing the dead in its community, created a public forum where families could build their social positions through strategies plotted over several generations. Burial chapels and monumental tombs helped shape local history.¹⁰ Commemoration and honor were meted out according to a finely calibrated hierarchical scale, signaled by the magnificence of the work, coats of arms, and inscriptions that recorded titles, important offices held, and achievements celebrated.¹¹

Burials and funerals (two separate events) reinforced the same hierarchy of display by wealth and rank. The bishop of Antwerp in 1621 and the king of Spain in 1685 proclaimed rules valid for the whole city in which traditional practices were encoded.¹² These were published in a schedule of prices that determined the cost of each item in the ceremony. Funerals were classified into strictly defined categories based on a descending order of expense, so that every detail from the number of candles to the color of the satin cross on the bier cloth would signal a claim to status. Location in the church marked the first sign of precedence. A "choir funeral," held in that most exalted place, cost a minimum of 117 guilders and bought participation by the pastor, assistant pastor, deacons, cantor, canons of St. Jacob's (each at six stivers), staff bearer of St. Jacob's, resident chaplains, schoolmaster, students (half a stiver each), cross bearer, choir singers (each a stiver), musicians, and ensign with bell. The sexton would furnish the high altar with cross and candles for each requiem mass, the churchwardens would lend silk liturgical cloths and priestly vestments, the choir would be hung in black, the two roodscreen altars would be ornamented with crosses, and the best bier cloth would show its red satin cross. "Large and small church funerals," a rung lower on the scale, were held in chapels, with fewer participants, two instead of three intervals of bell-ringing, and the bier cloth with a white satin cross (no satin cross at all for the "small church funeral"). "Bell funerals," and "women's funerals" (in which men also were sent out), shed most trappings of luxury. And at the bottom, the funeral rites and a

9 See above chapters 5, 6, and 8.

10 Timmermans 2000, and Timmermans 2006, 249–263.

11 Lawrence 1981, 50–51.

12 See Marinus 1995, 234; *Reglement op het feyt van de lycken 1685* (copy in RAAKASJA 2556).

churchyard burial, both completed early on the same morning (“Claes-lyck”), cost two guilders and thirteen stivers, half of it for the simplest bier cloth.¹³

The royal decree of 1685 also imposed an upper limit, a kind of sumptuary law, on what families could display. From this later point of view, the funeral arranged for Peter Paul Rubens in St. Jacob's would have been considered excessive. After the artist had been buried (*gesoncken*) in the south ambulatory crypt of his father-in-law Daniel Fourment on May 31, 1640 (years before construction of his final resting place, the Rubens Chapel), his family paid for a “choir funeral” celebrated on June 2. Rubens's bier, covered with a cloth of red satin crosses, was illuminated by sixty torches whereas the rules of 1685 set the limit at twenty-four expressly for the sake of modesty. Likewise, while Rubens's family shrouded the artist's whole house in mourning, it was forbidden in 1685 to hang mourning cloth in any rooms other than where the body lay, and only for the time it remained in the house.¹⁴ In a city with one religion, the central authorities of Church and State could modulate every detail of burial and funeral, to contrive a uniform standard that would guarantee income and indicate social standing.

10.2 Distinctive Monuments

Despite changes over the last two centuries, St. Jacob's best preserves the system of permanent display through sepulchral monuments. The church's sheer survival, its location in the city's wealthiest parish, and the collective project of writing the church's sepulchral history, undertaken for different reasons from the 17th to the 19th century, make it a unique resource for studying the representation of death. Thirteen hundred tomb inscriptions have been recorded there, including some 4,500 names, surpassing by far what remains from the other parish churches in Antwerp.¹⁵ Mostly it is the commemorations of the elite that survive. They were successful in their strategy to perpetuate remembrance through the value of art. Consequently their monuments still in

13 *Reglement op het feyt van de lycken* 1685. The “Claes-lyck” is defined in Diercxens 1773, IV, 179, in a decree issued by the Antwerp Magistracy in favor of the Alexian order, called Cellebroeders, whose mission was to care for the dead: “Pro humandis funeribus, dictis Vrouwyck vel Claes-lyck, quorum sepultura & exæquæ sunt eodem antemeridiano, habebit quisque Frater unum stuferum.” It could be that the name “Claes-lyck” (Claes the shortened form of Nicolaes) derives from the legend of St. Nicholas who was elected bishop of Myra because he was first to enter the church early in the morning (thanks to Luc Duerloo who suggested the life of St. Nicholas as possible source).

14 Söding 1986, 18–19, and 218–219, n.13.

15 Génard 1863, IX–X.

place fill the church with a variety of testimony, expressed through a combination of images and inscriptions to amplify the message.

One of them is so strange to modern sensibility that it appears at first to be in jest. But, it must have been meant in earnest, and reveals the core values guiding the Counter Reformation way of death. The dead man, Cornelis Lantschot, gazes directly out from the oval portrait atop his epitaph tablet, attached to the north wall of the Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel. Visitors drawn to it would read the inscription, in Dutch instead of the more customary Latin (fig. 10.2; fig. 10.3; fig. 10.4):

Cornelis Lantschot who lies here,/ has benefitted mankind with his virtue./ With money and goods, chapel and church:/ And after this work still left the poor/ Hundreds of thousands;/ Yes, exhausting even generosity itself./ And since everyone desired something from it,/ The great man was divided up in death:/ The world his praise: the earth kept his body:/ The poor his money: and God his soul. Heaven is gained by force/ Or can be bought with the power of gold./ Died 1656/ April 26.¹⁶

The two angels on either side of the portrait—on the left holding a death's head, on the right an anchor—and the Christ-like pelican above, feeding his young with blood from a self-inflicted wound, associate Lantschot more conventionally with the Christian virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity that they symbolize.¹⁷

Commissioned from sculptor Sebastian van den Eynden by the executors of Lantschot's estate in 1660, four years after his death, the epitaph crudely posits the terms of exchange by which wealth bought salvation and good repute. Lantschot's Last Will and Testament put it with greater humility. Bury me, he said, "in the grave of my father," and mark it with a new tomb slab, inscribed with my name in brass letters, the date of my death, and nothing more." Apparently childless, he bequeathed 24,000 guilders to the poor of Antwerp, and ordered that 200 guilders of the income should support each year "an honorable priest

16 Cornelis Lantschot die hier light,/ heeft met sijn devcht den mens gesticht./ met geld en goet, capel, en kerck:/ en liet den armen naer dit werck,/ noch hondert dvsenden daer toe;/ ia maeckt de miltheÿt selver moe./ mits elck daer iet begeerden van./ is doot gedeÿlt die grooten man:/ werelt, sijn lof: aerd 't lÿf behiel:/ den armen 't gelt: en godt sijn siel. Men wint den hemel met geweld,/ of Is te koop Met kraCht Van geLDt./ stirf Ao 1656/ 26 April [chronogram MDCLVI]. Cited and discussed in Baetens 1976, I, 301–302, adding as context the habit of merchants to pay for masses and prayers assuring the safe arrival of ships loaded with precious cargo, and to give church offerings in thanks if their prayers were answered.

17 Van Lerijs 1855, 167.

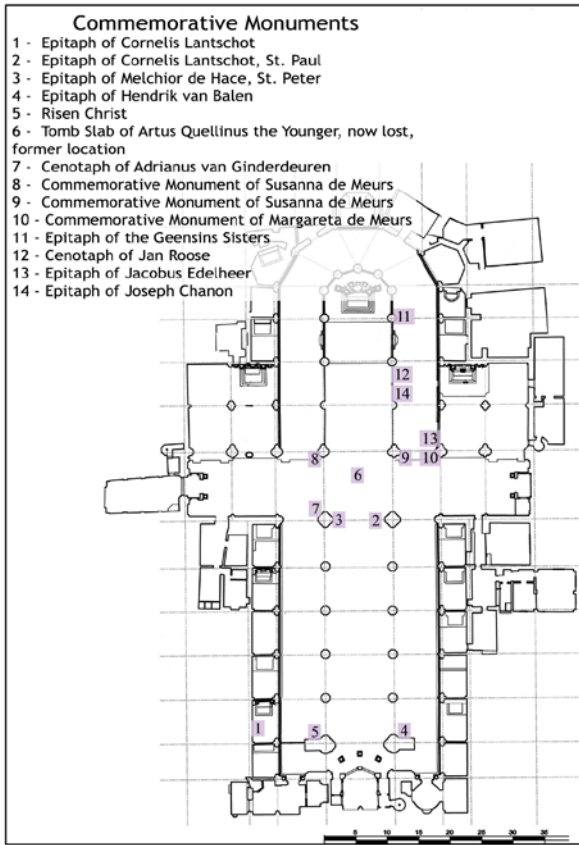


FIGURE 10.2 *Plan of St. Jacob's with locations of commemorative monuments discussed in this chapter.*

SUPERIMPOSED COMPUTER GRAPHICS:
ANANDAN AMIRTHANAYAGAM.

of good and saintly life," who would celebrate a daily mass in the chapel for the benefit of Lantschot's soul. In the face of indifference and the numbing chill of mechanical repetition, Lantschot made the priest's salary contingent on saying the mass in full, and not giving it short shrift. Further, each year at Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and Christmas, the "worthy poor" were constrained to hear mass and pray for Lantschot's soul in the chapel, if they wanted to receive a portion of the rye bread and Dutch cheese promised as their reward.¹⁸

18 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 631, Van Lerijs transcription from account of the estate of Cornelis Lantschot, May 26, 1660, of the commission to Sebastian van den Eynden for the epitaph; Bylage 79, Van Lerijs transcription of Lantschot's testament.



FIGURE 10.3 *Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel from nave with Lantschot epitaph at the center.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

To double his chances for lasting commemoration Lantschot donated in 1639 the far more conspicuous, larger than life St. Paul, mounted high on the southwest transept pier of St. Jacob's. The inscription at its base referred visitors to Lantschot's bones that would be buried in the Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel, and consequently turned the image into a more public memorial and reminder of death.¹⁹ St. Peter joined Paul as his counterpart on the northwest transept pillar in 1660, paid for by Melchior de Haze, another wealthy Antwerp merchant whose epitaph, inscribed at the base, tells us that he too had founded a daily mass in the church and asks that we pray for the donor's soul.²⁰ These two pillars of the Church strongly punctuate the nave's end (fig. 10.5; fig. 10.6; fig. 10.7; fig. 10.2, location plan, St. Paul, no. 2; St. Peter, no. 3).

Otherwise, piers in the nave and aisles were kept free of permanent memorials to the dead, with one exception made in honor of art (fig. 10.8; fig. 10.9;

19 Casteels 1961, 199, attributes the marble base and alabaster figure of St. Paul to the workshop of Andries de Nole; Lawrence 1981, 266–267, nr.84, lists the height as approximately 3.5 m.

20 "ET ZELO INCARNATI VERBI/ QVOTIDIANVM DEO SACRIFICIVM/ HAC IN AEDE FVNDAVIT"; Baetens 1976, I, 122. Van Lerius 1855, 178, attributed the St. Peter to Peeter Verbruggen the Elder and this opinion has not been challenged.

FIGURE 10.4 *Lantschot Epitaph.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 10.5 *St. Paul on the left [epitaph of Cornelis Lantschot, 1639] and St. Peter on the right [epitaph of Melchior de Haze, 1660] at the easternmost pillars of the nave adjacent to the crossing, viewed from east to west.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL DE VOLDER.

fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 4). Hung on the straight-edged buttress of the massive pier supporting the tower at the western entrance to the nave, facing east so that it can be seen only by eyes looking west in the south aisle, the epitaph of Hendrik van Balen (d.1632) flashes out with the light of *The Resurrection*.²¹ It makes a pair with the late 16th-century sculpture of the Risen Christ that stands on the equivalent spot against the pier on the north side (fig. 10.10; fig. 10.11; fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 5). This monument also could have been meant to mark a grave, but that connection has been lost.

Van Balen cultivated a long and close attachment with St. Jacob's. He donated cash and an inscribed baluster for the St. Anthony Chapel adjacent to his epitaph where he was to be buried. He also painted the altarpieces for the Sawyers and Scholiers chapels, and may have designed the stained glass window for Juan de Cachiopin in the Sacrament Chapel.²² But, however much

²¹ Werche 2004, I, 19–21, 220–221, nr.B 6.

²² See above, chapters 5 and 8.



FIGURE 10.6 *Attributed to the workshop of Andries de Nole, St. Paul with epitaph inscription for Cornelis Lantschot, 1639.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 10.7 *Attributed to Peeter Verbrugghen the Elder, St. Peter with epitaph inscription for Melchior de Haze.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
LIGHTHOUSE.

he gave to the church, it was far less than the gifts of wealthy donors who never received the same kind of privilege. The inscription honors Van Balen for his integrity, virtue, and excellent artistry.²³

23 CHRISTO RESVRGENTI SACR./ Integræ vitæ viro,/ Pictori eximio,/ HENRICO VAN BALEN, cvivs virtvtē prvdens/ imitabitvr posteritas, pencillvm mirabitvr/ longior ætas. MARGARETA BRIERS conivgi/ 17. Ivl. 1632. de nato poss et obiit 23 october. A.o 1638/ HORVM TVIQVE TE MEMOREM/ VVLT BENIGNE LECTOR/ BEATA SPES/ MORTALIVM. [Sacred to the Risen Christ/ To a man of irreproachable life,/ the excellent painter Hendrik van Balen,/ whose virtue prudent/ posterity will imitate, whose brush/ a more lengthy



FIGURE 10.8 *Van Balen monument in south aisle from a distance, seen east to west.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Artistry is demonstrated in *The Resurrection*, proportioned on a scale (169 × 141 cm.) intermediate between the delicate small pictures for which Van Balen was famous, and the large religious paintings, like those in St. Jacob's, where he sacrificed elegant finish for the ambition of monumentality. Christ rises luminous and resurgent from the dark ground. That darkness is extended outwards in the black marble frame, carved incisively by sculptor Hans van Mildert. Van Balen and his wife Margareta Briers (d.1638), whose dutiful installation of the epitaph in honor of her husband is witnessed by the inscription, are memorialized in the double profile portrait on top, set in a gilded border. Paintings, frame, and the inscription in gilded letters are all of a piece, conceived in unity and sited for this location.²⁴

age will admire. Margareta Briers/ erected this for her spouse, deceased 17 July 1632, and she died 23 October in the year 1638/ The blessed hope/ of mortals/ wishes of you good reader/ the recollection of them and of yourself. (with thanks to the Dutch translation by Van der Sanden in FAA PK 171, 727.)]

- 24 Duverger 1984–2009, IV, 273–277, account of the estate of Margareta Briers, Sept. 8, 1639, including payment of 164 guilders to the widow of Hans van Mildert (d.1638) as the remainder of what was owed for making the sepulchral monument; payment to gilder Jan Schut for inscribing the death date of Margareta Briers on the “sepulture.”



FIGURE 10.9 *Hendrik van Balen (paintings) and Hans van Mildert (sculpture), Van Balen's epitaph monument.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.



FIGURE 10.10 *Risen Christ on the westernmost pier of the nave bordering the north aisle, late 16th century, seen from a distance in relationship with Van Balen's epitaph on the south side.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 10.11

Risen Christ close up.

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

If Van Balen obtained this honor by way of his art, then my detailed analysis already has demonstrated that Peter Paul Rubens's burial chapel in the east end of St. Jacob's developed out of a completely different set of historical conditions. The artist and, even more the extended family of his heirs, applied their wealth and high position to construct a whole separate location with its own exclusive legal and institutional rights that fitted in by architecture, decoration, and use with the six other chapels built around the ambulatory. Rubens's altar retable was assembled from parts not necessarily painted and carved for it. By contrast Van Balen's sepulchral monument conferred a unique honor, its design integrated the parts fittingly and the whole in relation to its site. *The Resurrection* is the artist's masterpiece, and the hope it offers to mortals is enhanced by its glory.

A similar, although lesser, honor was accorded to sculptor Artus Quellinus the Younger to whom the churchwardens granted the right of burial under the crossing pavement, directly in front of the portal to the choir, through which could be seen his masterpiece, the retable of the high altar, for which he was rewarded so prominent a location (fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 6). But no painting or sculpture marked the spot. Only an inscription, recording the names of the artist and his family along with their dates of death, lamented how his loss was "No Joy for Art."²⁵ Artists who ornamented the church gained special recognition in this parish. Theodoor van Lerijs, the fierce protector of that heritage in the 19th century, attacked the churchwardens who removed Quellinus' gravestone in 1807–1808.²⁶

His tombstone identified Quellinus as "sculptor." Profession was the key marker of identity for men who earned their bread and had not risen into the nobility. An 18th-century manuscript list of epitaph monuments and inscriptions in St. Jacob's carefully recorded this fact from all the slabs embedded in the nave pavement and since removed: brewer, merchant, iron monger, tapestry weaver, bell ringer of the church, Latin master (Rumoldus Verdonck, Rubens's teacher in the Cathedral Latin School), dean of the tanners guild, of the surgeons, of the linen weavers, gravedigger, city wine assessor, porter of the Kipdorp gate, shoemaker, master mason, baker, and carpenter. Most women

25 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. p.90, grave stone in nave in front of the entrance to the choir: "D.O.M./geen jonst voor de konst /Arnoldus Quellinus Belthouwer/sterft 22 november 1700./en sijn eerste huijs vrouw anna/mari Gabron stierf 15 octob 1669/Cornelia Volders sijne huys-/vrouw stierf den 24 feb. 1700./en hunne kinderen/B.V.D.S." See above, chapters 3 and 7, for Quellinus's work.

26 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 189.

were inscribed as the wives of these men, or, as “spiritual daughters” who lived unmarried under the guidance of a priest. Sometimes an inscription would celebrate a particular achievement, as did the gravestone of Michiel Coignet of Antwerp, “learned man and mathematician.”²⁷ The varied social and local character of the parish spoke through the inscriptions on these tomb slabs. Removing them effaced the wider history of the parish, and left only the traces of the nobles, magistrates, patricians, and wealthy merchants whose lavish monuments remain in place.

Beyond the nave, moving east into the crossing, transepts, ambulatory, and choir, the number of commemorative works proliferated and increased in density, like moths attracted to the light of the consecrated host. Memorials displayed on the walls and in the stained glass windows of the transept arms reflect the devotions of the two great chapels they border to the east, dedicated to Our Lady and to the Blessed Sacrament.²⁸

More unusual, conspicuous to the crossing as Van Balen’s sepulchral monument is unique to the nave, a cenotaph fixed on the northwest pillar facing the north transept honors Adrianus van Ginderdeuren (d.1647), member of the wealthy merchant family who supplied churchwardens, major contributions, and even managed the accounts for construction of St. Jacob’s transept (fig. 10.12; fig. 10.13; fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 7).²⁹ Like Van Balen’s monument, it rewards virtue with the same ensemble of parts; at the top a portrait of the dead bordered in a gilded wreath of laurel, a painting of Christ in the middle, and at the bottom an inscription, all framed in black marble, contrasted with white marble ornament on the outside edges. But Van Ginderdeuren’s epitaph praises his “heroic fortitude of soul” in leading and aiding fellow Catholics in Amsterdam, who were surrounded by enemies of the faith, suffered in poverty

27 RAAKASJA 2642, *Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*, 128–143; 144, in nave below the St. Paul: D.O.M./ et memoriae doctissimi viri/ Maichaelis Coignet Antverpiensis/ mathematici & c. obiit 24 dec. 1623; 148–159; 176: Pauwels Luijdincx bouwmeester was van dese stadthuijse ende borse sterf den 4 December a 1586; 180–182; in Three Kings Chapel Hieronymus Wierix 1619.

28 See above, chapters 5 and 6.

29 RAAKASJA 956, *Rekeninghe gehouden by Nicolas van Ginderdeuren over het opmaecken van het Cruyswerck in dese kercke van Sint Jacopo Begonst den 20den Aprill 1619 geenyndicht den 29den meerte 1621*. For contributions by other family members see above, chapter 1. Baetens 1976, I, 214, documents Adriaan (Adrianus) van Ginderdeuren conducting business in Amsterdam in 1637.



FIGURE 10.12 *Cenotaph of Adrianus van Ginderdeuren showing position.*

PHOTO: AUTHOR.

or had been imprisoned for the sake of their religion.³⁰ Instead of the hopeful resurrection, Cornelis Schut's painting of Mary, St. John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalen, and angels mourning over the dead Christ, and the sculptor's weeping angels on top of death's heads were meant, as Jacob van der Sanden, the

30 D.O.M./Adrianus van Ginderdeuren Antwerpiensis,/ Cum medios inter Catholicae Religionis Hostes,/ Heroica animi fortitudine praevisset suos,/ Pauperes et Captivos pro Religione fovisset/ Amsterdami obiit Ao. 1647 die 2. Aprilis/ Bene precare defuncto. [Adrianus van Gindeuren of Antwerp/ having among the enemies of the Catholic religion/ led his own with heroic fortitude of soul/ having assisted the poor and those imprisoned for religion's sake/ died in Amsterdam on April 2, 1647].



FIGURE 10.13
*Cenotaph for Adrianus van
 Ginderdeuren with Lamentation over
 the body of Christ by Cornelis Schut.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
 LIGHTHOUSE.

18th-century eulogist of the Antwerp school put it, “to make a Christian heart lament.”³¹ Image and inscription exhorted Catholics at mid-century to maintain their vigilance against the Protestant enemy in the Dutch Republic.

31 Van der Sanden in FAA PK 172/2, 363: “Sint Jacobs kerke kan een Christen Hert doen treuren,/ Door ‘t Grafstuk, dat in lof Verheft Van Ginderdeuren.” See Wilmers 1996, 142–143, Cat. A76, for Schut’s picture. Wilmers 1996, 292, n.17, rejects the attribution of the oval portrait, painted on copper, to Schut. See Duverger 1984–2009, v, 442, for attestation on June 16, 1648, that Schut promised the heirs of Van Ginderdeuren that if the first picture he painted for the monument did not please, then he would paint another. Van Lerijs 1855, 150, attributed the sculptural elements of the monument to Sebastian de Neve, without citing any documentation.

I already have recounted the installation of the four saints on the east side of the crossing who guard both entrances to the ambulatory; John the Evangelist and Paul by Michiel van der Voort on the north side (1722–1723), Peter and James by Joannes Claudius De Cock on the south (c.1721) of the roodscreen (figs. 3.44–3.46; fig. 10.2, location plan, 8–10).³² Inscriptions on the bases of Peter and Paul commemorate the death and generosity of Susanna de Meurs whose legacy paid for the sculptures, as well as for the St. James, which memorializes the death of her sister Margareta.³³

The unmarried sisters used their inherited wealth to live a life and insure a death enfolded in the church, splitting their estate between St. Jacob's churchwardens and Antwerp's poor. But personal items left behind also revealed the intimate society they formed with their confessor priest, joined by other "spiritual daughters," two of whom were their servants, who also were sisters. Margareta bequeathed to one, for her faithful service, "my bed in which my sister sleeps," along with a prie-dieu, a silver crucifix, and two paintings, one of Christ Carrying the Cross, and the other Margareta's portrait, a perfect assemblage for prayer and remembrance. For the benefit of their own, their parents', and their friends' souls, the De Meurs sisters, like Cornelis Lantschot, founded a perpetual daily mass in St. Jacob's Sweet Name of Jesus Chapel, where it was celebrated from 1728 until 1794, and paid for the living of a priest.³⁴ The long association between the De Meurs family and the parish church gathered a community for the women in which they could live the independent life of "spiritual daughters" (see above, chapter 1, on these women). After death their inheritance of accumulated wealth and social position, characteristic of the parish elite around 1700, flowed back into the fabric of the church. But the chapter of canons and churchwardens fought over the inheritance and even

32 For the history of these images see above, chapter 3.

33 RAAKASJA 2642, *Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. In fo., latest date of monument recorded 1770, references to the theatre sacré indicate that significant sections date to after the publication of this book in 1734: p.13: at the south entrance to ambulatory: "dispositis hinc inde S.S. apostolorum Petri et Jacobi statuis, idq munificentia Domicellae Susannae De Meurs opera vero magistri et sculptoris G. Cockx.": p.43: north entrance to the ambulatory, with statues of John and Paul by Michiel van der Vervoort, under John one finds a dedication commemorating the gift of Jacobus Guilielmus Janssens, vice deacon of the chapter; under Paul a memorial inscription to Susanna de Meurs.

34 RAAKASJA 1646, codicil to testament of Margareta de Meurs, Dec. 18, 1706; RAAKASJA 1649, codicil of testament of Margareta de Meurs, Oct. 12, 1707; codicil to testament of Margareta de Meurs, Jan. 24, 1708; RAAKASJA 1700, *Rent en Rekenboek der Dagelyksche Mis van Margareta en Susanna de Meurs*, f.1r–f.4v.

the memorial masses would never have been celebrated if it had not been for the sisters' nephew Jonker J.B. de Meurs, who had himself served as churchwarden and now used his influence to protect the legacy of his aunts. A few years later he guided the compilation of a manuscript which remains the most important visual record of burial monuments in the church, the "Sepulcher Book", which I discuss further on in this chapter.

Inside the ambulatory and within the choir, close to the high altar, the dead occupied every square inch beneath the pavement and set their commemorations above ground where they could. Owners of the new chapels ringing the ambulatory had been assured of their exclusive privilege in death. Only they could inter their dead in the crypts below and install epitaphs, paintings, and sculptures in the chapels and on the adjacent ambulatory walls.³⁵ But, soon after the choir was vaulted in 1642, families began to affix their sepulchral monuments onto the pillars and partitions tracing the outside fence of the choir and along the exterior borders of the two great chapels that face into the ambulatory and were open to private memorials.

"Spiritual daughters," like the De Meurs sisters after them, were first to erect funerary monuments in the ambulatory. In 1644 Maria Geensins (d.1645), "spiritual daughter" of a Jesuit confessor, instructed that a painting she owned of *The Pietà with St. John the Evangelist* should be hung in St. Jacob's, near the grave of her sister Elisabeth, where she also wished to be buried, and that it should be furnished with a fine frame, and an epitaph panel underneath.³⁶ Famous artist Cornelis Schut, Maria Geensins' brother-in-law, painted the picture and probably designed the sculptural frame of the monument that also marked the grave of his first wife Catharina Geensins (d.1637) and of his two children by her who had died young (see above, fig. 7.7, for a view of the south ambulatory that includes the Geensins monument affixed to the pillar on the right of the entrance to the choir; fig. 10.14; fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 11).³⁷ *The Pietà* always was intended for exactly the location in which it still hangs. Schut employed the large scale of the figures, the sharp foreshortening of Christ's body, and the strong contrast between broad areas of light and dark to impress viewers who look up from below. The forceful design of the sculptural frame today holds its own easily against the visual tumult of the high altar behind (1685) and the choir enclosures below (1660s–1680s). Rounded carving of the

35 See above, chapter 8.

36 Duverger 1984–2009, v, 171.

37 For Schut's family buried there, see Wilmers 1996, 80, and 227, document B1/50. The ornamental design of the Geensins monument is similar to Schut's etching displaying the coat of arms of Andrea Cantelmo (d.1645) (see Wilmers 1996, fig. 1.11).



FIGURE 10.14

*Geensins epitaph monument with
Cornelis Schut's Pietà.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

cornucopias and angel herms, the deeply cut black marble cornice above and the black epitaph plaque below, balancing the white figural ornaments and deftly framing the picture, introduced architectural elements that Rubens had associated with “dignity” in the sense of an architecture worthy of its serious intent.³⁸ Schut’s work set the precedent for what followed in the choir. He, Rubens, and Van Balen each had contributed a sepulchral monument for St. Jacob’s that joined together personal commemoration, religious devotion, and artistic innovation.

After the choir enclosures were erected to fence the ambulatory with a new kind of funerary monument, smaller commemorative works filled in the empty

38 Ottenheym 1997; Scholten 2003, 35–36.

spaces.³⁹ Probably in 1672, the sons of Jan Roose (d.1641) and Anna Frederix Vander Boechorst (d.1672) placed a cenotaph in honor of their parents at the top of the wall separating the choir from the south ambulatory just over the confessional set against that section of wall in 1664 (see fig. 4.7 for a view of this location; fig. 10.15; fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 12). Jacobus Roose, one of Jan's sons, very likely suggested the form and location of his parents' monument, which were new for Antwerp, but repeated a type already current on the choir fence of St. Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent, where Jacobus Roose had been dean of the Cathedral chapter.⁴⁰ Every part of this monument fulfilled the wish of the sons to demonstrate retrospectively the nobility of their wealthy merchant father and, by extension, to affirm their own positions in the social order. Unlike the monuments for Van Balen or Geensins, no image of Christ speaks here to the afterlife. That exclusion repeats the focus on coats of arms in stained glass windows installed after 1650 in St. Jacob's. Instead, the inscription occupying the central oval field lists Jan Roose's noble titles and high offices, without mentioning that he had won them by a fortune earned in the "ignoble" pursuits of commerce. Family coats of arms, spreading out above, below, and around, display that noble lineage like a peacock's tail for all to see. This work must be understood in the context of the inflation and even counterfeiting of noble honors forced by the social pressure towards aristocratic status that was powerful not only in Antwerp, but also throughout Western Europe, in the mid-17th century.⁴¹

With less to prove than the Roose family, the monument erected on the opposite side of the south ambulatory for Jacobus Edelheer (d.1657) and his wife Elisabetha van Lemens (d.1650), is understated and dignified (see fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 13; fig. 10.16). A single emblazoned coat of arms at the bottom proves Edelheer's descent from a noble Leuven family. He served as Antwerp's chief legal representative (*stadspensionaris*), employed his humanist learning to write a history of the Scheldt in defense of Antwerp's commercial interests, and made his house a center of art and science in the "republic of letters," in the parish and the city.⁴² Edelheer commissioned the monument himself in

39 For the enclosures, see above, chapter 7.

40 See the inscription of the monument for Jacobus Roose's position. Lawrence 1981, 268, no. 86, noted the similarity with sepulchral monuments located around the ambulatory wall in St. Bavo's. Van Lerius 1855, 106, attributes the Roose monument to Artus Quellinus the Younger, but without any documentation.

41 Duerloo 1991, 173; Timmermans 2000, 91–92; Scholten 2003, 35.

42 Prims 1932, 302–309; Prims 1977–1985, VI-B, 664.



FIGURE 10.15 *Cenotaph for Jan Roose and Anna Frederix Vander Boeorchts.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

1654 at a price of 600 guilders, and he probably determined its components.⁴³ It occupies a prominent location, set high up on the southeast transept pier bordering the Sacrament Chapel and looking down into the ambulatory. The inscription, lapidary in style, is composed in a visual order that fits each line, as a completed thought, into the oval frame, using epigrammatic brevity to inspire admiration in the reader.⁴⁴ Decorous reticence also characterizes the sculptural decoration. Name saints of the deceased flank the inscription; James

43 Duverger 1984–2009, VII, 27. An attribution to the school of Andries Colyns de Nole the Younger (Van Lierius 1855, 104) is untenable because Casteels 1961, 38, n.2, establishes that no documents prove even the existence of such an artist.

44 Sparrow 1969, 102–114.



FIGURE 10.16
Edelheer epitaph monument.
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—
 LIGHTHOUSE.

(Jacobus) on the left, and Elizabeth on the right. A bas-relief double profile of the couple stands above the inscription, accompanied by a pair of angels, one on the left holding the hourglass of time, and his companion on the right mourning in a pose typical of grieving melancholy.

One other memorial in the south ambulatory participates in this competition to justify a life; the monument that Joseph Chanon, St. Jacob's pastor for thirty-four long years (1680–1714), spent so much effort to secure for himself, along with his grave under the ambulatory pavement below.⁴⁵ Chanon paired his own commemoration with that of Roose directly to the right (fig. 10.17; fig. 10.18; fig. 10.2, location plan, no. 14). The new work, artfully conforming to the old, but not repeating it, completed the decoration of this section between two choir pillars.⁴⁶ Successful in its design, the monument expresses an egotistical grandiosity unmatched by other parish priests. By contrast, pastor Franciscus van den Bossche, instrumental to St. Jacob's growth in the crucial

45 For this controversy, see above, chapter 5.

46 Van Lerijs 1855, 105, attributes this work, like the Roose cenotaph, to Artus Quellinus the Younger, without any documentation.



FIGURE 10.17 *Chanon and Roose monuments together.*
KIK E012046.

years 1640–1674, was honored with a simple portrait painting hung over his grave, the inscription below registering genuine admiration for his eloquence and generosity to the poor (see above, fig. 1.4). Chanon used the medallion bas-relief above his inscription to characterize himself as the Good Shepherd (John 10), the true pastor who leads his sheep to pasture through the one gate and protects them from the wolves, unlike the thieves and brigands who try to break in to the sheepfold and the hired hand who flees at the approach of danger. Everyone would have understood the priest's attempt to defend his notoriously contentious behavior. Over the years he had lodged complaints and lawsuits against brotherhoods, chapels, and the chapter, whose claims to income and space he contested.⁴⁷

Maybe faith in a spiritual afterlife and the prayers that could be gathered to ease the way to heaven motivated the erection of these monuments, but they convey just as strongly the desire of powerful egos to keep their own names alive after death in the here and now. Cornelis Lantschot and the wealthy

47 ABA Parochialia: S. Jacob, Bundel v, parochie nr.65; broederschap van de H. Drievuldigheid, 26 Sept. 1708, canons of St. Jacob's complaint against Chanon concerning jurisdiction over the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity; Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 546, reports frequent disputes between the canons and Chanon, 1703–1706, concerning the right of the Confraternity of the Agony of Death (Doodstrijd) to say mass at its altar on the north side of the rood screen; RAAKASJA 57, f.214r, record of trial between Chanon and the Confraternity of St. Guido.



FIGURE 10.18 *Chanon epitaph monument.*
 PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

“spiritual daughters,” all childless, sought remembrance through conspicuous monuments and donations to the poor. Artists enhanced their own posthumous reputations. Merchants covered their memorials with coats of arms to disguise less than noble origins. A pastor transformed the notoriety of his litigious character into the Good Shepherd fighting for his sheep. St. Jacob’s churchwardens parleyed the longing for personal honor after death into a source of lucrative income and splendid new ornament. And yet, private interests, no matter how aggressive, never interfered with the public practice of religion or with the unity of decoration.

10.3 The “Sepulcher Book” and the Collective History of Death in St. Jacob’s

Individuals and families competed to secure their own memorials. But, starting at the end of 1705, and gaining momentum in 1706, the elite families of St. Jacob’s parish acted as a group to produce a manuscript record of the grave monuments they had installed in the church continuously from the 16th century.⁴⁸ The “Sepulcher Book,” as it is called in most documents, is a luxurious, carefully assembled work, a folio volume on parchment (37 cm × 23.6 cm), bound in leather with clasps, and filled with seventy-eight entries of memorials and tombs, ranging from calligraphic inscriptions to elaborate master drawings (fig. 10.19).⁴⁹ Jonkers Jan Baptista de Meurs and Philips le Pippre dit Bailloul, the two churchwardens who organized the project, set their coats of arms at the beginning, and imposed throughout a representative conceptual order.⁵⁰ (fig. 10.20) Their records of contributions and expenses during 1706 document the major supporters and producers of the book. Indeed, the “Sepulcher Book” was listed under separate rubrics which confirm the extraordinary nature of the undertaking.⁵¹

Individual entries were linked to a “caerte figuratiff,” a figured plan of the church that, I assume, marked the locations of tombs and monuments. The “caerte figuratiff” was plotted on paper according to the measurements of surveyor Jan Carel van Lier, pasted on seven ells of linen, supported by a lattice inserted in a frame, and decorated with drawings by the excellent sculptor Joannes Claudius De Cock.⁵² Although this detailed location plan now is lost, its counterpart, the “Sepulcher Book,” survives as a unique retrospective view of death in St. Jacob’s. As far as I know, the other Antwerp churches, secular and regular, never possessed anything of the kind.⁵³

Fear of destruction and oblivion prompted the book’s creation. By 1700 St. Jacob’s was filled with the dead, and in the passage of time old monuments

48 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob’s/ 2: Wapenboek: Dec. 27, 1705, “Betaelt aen den schilder Ruggenbergh, voor de wapens geschildert te hebben van de Heeren Carena en Tolinckx voor den sepultuer boeck. 4–16.”

49 RAAKASJA 2641.

50 RAAKASJA 2641, f.1r.

51 RAAKASJA R.13, Kerkrekeningen 1702–1718: 1706, f.18v., and f.32r.–32v.

52 RAAKASJA R.13, Kerkrekening 1706, f.32r., “Alsoo hier voore in ontfang is gebrocht om te maecken den sepultuerboeck & Caerte figuratif soo compt hier den wttgeeft.”; “Item moet hebben Jan Carel van Lier lantmeter voor het maecken de Caerte figuratiff volgens de accorde daer van gemaect ter somme van sestich guldens by quittance 60”; “Item betaelt aen den beelthouder Joannes de Cock voor de teekeninge gemaect op de caerte figuratief de somme van twelff guldens by quittance 12.”

53 Génard 1863, x–x1, lists sources for grave inscriptions in Antwerp parish churches.



FIGURE 10.19 *Binding Cover of the “Sepulcher Book,” or “Wapenboek” as the title was inscribed in the 19th century. RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 10.20 *f.1r. of the "Sepulcher Book," coats of arms of churchwardens, the Jonkers Jan Baptista de Meurs and Philips le Pippre dit Bailloul. RAAKASJA.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

and burials inevitably would give way to new in a kind of second death. But more immediate concerns pushed St. Jacob's elite to take collective action. First, in 1702 the pastor Chanon permitted exhumation of a body from the grave of the De Silva family, crypto-Jews in Antwerp who now could practice their religion openly in Holland and wished to bury their ancestor in a cemetery consecrated according to the laws of their faith. Similar occurrences in 1655, 1682, and 1692 had provoked anxiety each time among the parishioners of St. Jacob's who feared that the bones of their Catholic forbears would be mixed in with those of the Jews.⁵⁴ If ancestral bodies were to be protected from desecration, then it was necessary to remember where in the church they had been buried. Perhaps in response, or coincidentally, in that same year, 1702, the churchwardens commissioned schoolmaster Simon Majael to transcribe

54 RAAKASJA R.13., *Kerkrekening 1702*, f.21v.: "Item aen de Waechers voor t' graef gaede te slaen van Silva daer onse pastoir het lichaem heeft doen wt haelen en laete vooren naer Hollant om by de Joden aldaer begraven te syn: 10 stuyvers." Perhaps the same Da Silva family to which Francisco da Silva belonged. He was fined 800 guilders in 1680 for having summoned the pastor when it was too late to administer extreme unction to his dying father, a ruse Protestants and Jews used to avoid this Catholic sacrament: Marinus 1995, 242–243.

inscriptions of all the burials in the church.⁵⁵ The “Sepulcher Book” may have carried this documentation a step further.

Of more immediate concern, in June 1706, after suffering defeats in 1705, the French-Spanish government in Antwerp capitulated to the English-Dutch allies who took control of the South Netherlands in trust for the Austrian emperor until 1715, ending Spanish rule which had maintained the Catholic Church as the exclusive faith in the South Netherlands since 1585. The threat and then the reality of Protestant conquest, and subsequently the presence of Dutch troops garrisoned in the city where they openly celebrated Calvinist services must have activated in the donors their latent fear of a new iconoclasm.⁵⁶ Most subscriptions to the “Sepulcher Book” were paid starting in August 1706, just two months after the English-Dutch victory.⁵⁷

The “Sepulcher Book” is a profoundly conservative document in several respects. It shares the principles that impelled widespread interest in sepulchral inscriptions and monuments; to preserve a chosen history, to honor the memory of virtuous men, and to perpetuate the heritage of noble families through their coats of arms. In particular it implements the humanist conviction that inscriptions on paper escape the destruction of time and outlast what is written in stone.⁵⁸ Indeed, stained glass windows, tomb slabs, polychrome ornaments, and sepulchral monuments that once stood in St. Jacob’s but now are lost, all appear fresh and pristine in the “Sepulcher Book.”

But the “Sepulcher Book” is unique in its contents and purpose. It served exclusively the interests of St. Jacob’s elite families. By paying to record their monuments on parchment the rich and powerful in this parish doubled the privilege already claimed by the monuments; to inscribe themselves in history while the vast majority soon was forgotten. Jonker Du Bois, living on the fashionable Meir, who donated more than anyone else to the project as a whole (not just his own entry), typified the motives of those who subscribed to the “Sepulcher Book.” They consolidated their hard won social positions, founded on wealth earned through commerce earlier in the century and then exchanged for ennoblement.⁵⁹

55 RAAKASJA R.13., Kerkrekening 1702, f.22v.: “item betaelt aen simon Majael voor sercken van dese kerck opte shcryven met alle de sepulture by quittance: 7.”

56 Prims 1977–1985, VI-A, 176–177; VII, 5. The fear of a new iconoclasm is made explicit in legacies to churches written before the Treaty of Münster in 1648. Donors provided for the repossession of gifts in the event that the Catholic religion would be overthrown.

57 RAAKASJA R.13., Kerkrekening 1706, f.18v.

58 Petrucci 1998, 83–84.

59 RAAKASJA R.13., Kerkrekening 1706, f.18v.: “ontfangen van Jonker du Bois op de Meer den oude tot het maecken van sepulturen boeck en caerte figuratieff seven fransche pistolen met expresse conditie mij bevolen dat hy wilt hebben het tot dit werck moet gebruyckt

Through its organization by location in the church, and its assortment of records from simple to elaborate, the “Sepulcher Book” reproduced the social hierarchy that the actual tombs displayed. A progress begins in the choir, the most exalted of precincts. It moves then to the Blessed Sacrament and Our Lady Chapels, turns into the ambulatory with its chapels, and ends in chapels of the nave where ornately carved tomb slabs commemorate the oldest noble families buried in the church, dating back to early in the sixteenth century. Instead of repeating one pattern, the entries vary according to the character of the original monuments and depending on what each family was willing to spend. A few settled for nothing more than an inscription in calligraphy. But, for those who possessed it, a coat of arms furnished the indispensable sign of nobility that could stand for the whole tomb. There might be more, but not less. Indeed, the 19th-century archivist Van Grimbergen understandably described the “Sepulcher Book” as an “Armorial [Wapenboek] of the church, displaying on pages of parchment the coats of arms and monuments belonging to noble families.”⁶⁰ Seventeen folios are devoted to coats of arms, without any further information. It was exclusively Peter Paul Ruben’s coat of arms, not his famous altarpiece, that Jan Baptista Lunden chose to prove the nobility of his ancestors (fig. 10.21).⁶¹ Other entries combine emblazoned coats of arms with inscriptions. In one extraordinary case, the Santa Cruz family inserted at the very end of the “Sepulcher Book” the original certificate signed in 1651 by Henri Prevost de la Val, King of Arms to the Spanish king, attesting to the legitimacy of their coat of arms painted at the top of the same page (fig. 10.22).⁶²

worden ende niet tot de schulden van de kerck compt in courant gelt 73: 10.” For the Du Bois family’s typical rise in Antwerp society see Baetens 1976, 1, 194.

- 60 RAAKASJA 2641, described by Van Grimbergen as: “Wapenboek der kerk, vervattende op perkamente bladeren de afschildering der wapenen en monumenten aen edele familien toebehoorende en in de kerk bestaande. In fo; perkament; met sloten;” title page: Wapenboek der Kerk, Gekend onder den Naem van Sepultuerboek in de Rekening van 1706.
- 61 RAAKASJA R.13., Kerkrekening 1706, f.18v., “December ontfangen van Jonker Jan Baptista Lunden voor het schilderen van wapens van familie Rubens twee ducats compt in courant gelt 7.” Most of the coats of arms in the “Sepulcher Book” were executed by a painter named “Peeters;” RAAKASJA R.13., Kerkrekening 1706, f.34r., for payments to him. Duerloo 1991, 174–176, discusses the representative functions of coats of arms in churches.
- 62 RAAKASJA 2641, f.81r., coat of arms with testimony below: “le soubsigne, escuyer Roy d’Arms ordinaire de sa mate. Certifie que les armes cy dessus depeintes avec leurs metaux et couleurs, sont celles de Sancta Crux, ... en alliance avec celles de meulenaer et que telles sont ... de mon noble office depeintes. Tesmoing mon signe manuel icy mis le 22 d’Aoust l’an de gre Mille six cens cinquante et un. J Prevost de la Val.” See Duerloo 1991, on De la Val. On Charles Santa Cruz, burgomaster and leading merchant, see Baetens 1976, 1, 229.



FIGURE 10.21 *Rubens coat of arms in the "Sepulcher Book", f.57r. RAAKASJA.*
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Even when an entry depicted the sepulchral monument entire, the monument itself might be dominated by a display of armorial bearings. That is the case, as I have described it above, for the cenotaph of Jan Roose (fig. 10.23).⁶³ Different entries accomplished the same purpose of armorial display by reproducing various types of sepulchral memorials. That for the Spinola and Sivori families assembles in one composition the diamond escutcheons hung in the church during funerals (fig. 10.24).⁶⁴ The Tucher family paid for a copy of their stained glass window installed during the 16th century in the St. Anthony Chapel, which, as noted, is more than anything else, a record of genealogy (see above, fig. 8.16).⁶⁵ And, for good measure, Tucher also requested a separate watercolor entry depicting the tomb slab in which his ancestors Ambrosius

63 RAAKASJA 2641, f.15r.

64 RAAKASJA 2641, f.35r.

65 RAAKASJA 2641, f.77r.; R.13., Kerkrekening 1706, f.18v.: "ontfangen van Jonker Tucher wachtmeester voor schilderen van wapen ende het gelas staende in St. Anthonius Cappel twee ducaten dat het moet gebruyckt worden tot den sepulturen boeck ende carte figuratieff 11 [guilders]."



FIGURE 10.22 Santa Cruz certificate and coat of arms in the "Sepulcher Book," f.81r. RAAKASJA.
 PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 10.24 *Spinola Sívori entry in the "Sepulcher Book," f.35r. RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Tucher and Marie van Urssel rest in sleeping death, framed by coats of arms (fig. 10.25; see above, fig. 8.13, for the tomb slab now eroded by time).⁶⁶

Families paid the artist Peeters to record ten of these grave stones, all in the same technique of blue wash heightened in white and deepened in black for the shadows.⁶⁷ The churchwardens coordinated this uniform approach to visual documentation and decided to bind most of the tomb slab paintings together at the end of the “Sepulcher Book,” reflecting, as I have suggested, the location of the original monuments in the older nave chapels.⁶⁸ At the same time they form a distinct group in which care was taken to record parish and local history, to preserve the actual appearance of sepulchral monuments that were invested with more than private interest. The original slabs and Peeters’ reproductions condense a great deal of information. Those dating to the 16th century are visual at the core and verbal at the periphery, in the way typical of late-medieval commemorations.⁶⁹

The churchwardens applied a different kind of distinction to signal the value of art in perpetuating memory of the dead and beautifying the church. Fittingly, they commissioned Joannes Claudius De Cock, the great sculptor who had ornamented the figurative plan associated with the “Sepulcher Book,” to draw the most magnificent sepulchral monuments recently built in the church. These drawings were distinguished further by binding them in two-page openings, matched on the facing pages by the coats of arms and official testimonials of the donors who had paid for the monuments.⁷⁰ De Cock’s fine ink and wash drawing of the high altar retable opens the book with a flourish, celebrating both the artistic achievement of the sculptor Artus Quellinus the Younger and the munificence of the donor Henricus Hillewerf, whose coat of arms appears twice, first on the retable itself below the figure of St. James, and then on the facing page (fig. 10.26). Jumping to the exact center of the

66 RAAKASJA 2641, f.72r.

67 RAAKASJA R.13., Kerkrekening 1706, f.32r.: “noch aenden selven [the painter Peeters] voor de 3 sercken wtte trecken vanden familie vander Heyden 3 [guilders] 10 [stivers].”

68 RAAKASJA 2641, f.63r.–f.73r., f.76r., f.78r.

69 Petrucci 1998, 51–52.

70 RAAKASJA 2641, f.2v. High altar pen and ink, grey wash, yellow wash for gilding, f.3r: Hillewerf coat of arms; f.39v.; drawing of Van der Voort monument for Michiel Peeters, f.42r.: coat of arms and inscription on the epitaph: n.b. this sheet of parchment is bound at the center and cut smaller than the rest of the book; f.50v. Biel altar, f.51r. Biel coats of arms and testimony. I have attributed three of the drawings to De Cock, based on their similarity with signed drawings by him, and on his documented association with the “figurative plan” linked to the “Sepulcher Book.” The execution of f.40r. is weaker than that of the other three and may not be by him. De Cock is listed as the artist of RAAKASJA 2641, f.2v., by KIK (Nummer cliché M126269).



FIGURE 10.25 *Tucher tomb slab in the "Sepulcher Book," f.72r. RAAKASJA.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.



FIGURE 10.26 Opening with Joannes Claudius De Cock's drawing of the high altar and the Hillewerf coat of arms in the "Sepulcher Book," f.2v.–3r. RAAKASJA.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

"Sepulcher Book," De Cock's second drawing renders exquisitely the subtle beauty of Michiel van der Voort's, Eternity, gracing the tomb of Michiel Peeters, in the Our Lady Chapel (fig. 10.27). Third in the sequence of sculptural masterpieces, De Cock lovingly portrayed Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder's marble antependium, angelic candle bearers, bas-relief of the Crucifixion, and other ornaments added to the altar retable of the Biel Chapel in 1700 (see above, fig. 9.45). On the facing page of this opening, a copy of Laurentius Biel's contract to build the chapel is crowned by the family's coat of arms, inserting another kind of legal documentation into the "Sepulcher Book" intended to secure rights and privileges.

Anxiety of obliteration and oblivion underlay the "Sepulcher Book's" retrospective approach. In the 1770s a far more inclusive manuscript compilation of "Sepulchral Monuments, Epitaphs, and Inscriptions" (*Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales...*) in St. Jacob's entered the mainstream of



FIGURE 10.27 Joannes Claudius De Cock. Monument of Michiel Peeters in the “Sepulcher Book,” f.39v. RAAKASJA.
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

what Cynthia Lawrence called “sepulchral history.”⁷¹ This new manuscript joined direct observation of the monuments with information taken from the “Sepulcher Book,” presumably from the lost transcriptions of gravestones made in 1702, from documents in the church archives, and also from two major published sources of sepulchral history in which St. Jacob’s already figured; Franciscus Sweertius’s *Monvmenta Sepvlcralia*... (Antwerp, 1613) and *Le Grand theatre sacré du duché de Brabant*... (The Hague, 1734). Both of these books changed sepulchral history in favor of the Counter Reformation Catholic Church. Sweertius purged inscriptions of heretical content and *Le Grand theatre* illustrated the tombs of bishops who had been instrumental to the triumphant efflorescence of the Catholic Church unfolded in these lavish volumes.⁷² St. Jacob’s manuscript of “Sepulchral Monuments, Epitaphs, and Inscriptions” integrated the expanding history of art into the history of sepulchral monuments composed in support of Catholicism. The well-informed anonymous writer frequently called attention to the masterpieces of painting and sculpture that ornament St. Jacob’s commemorations. In one typical example, he or she transcribed the inscription on the monument erected in the north ambulatory to the memory of Jasper Boest, choirmaster of the Cathedral, succinctly described the Mater dolorosa standing above, and observed that “in it the hand of the sculptor Van Beveren expressed the sorrows of the Virgin so artfully and true to life, that one could not possibly see anything more elegant, nor could one encounter anything by this artist that is better” (see above, fig. 6.4).⁷³

10.4 Conclusion

If these monuments offered solace and remembrance in the face of death, then they should be conjoined with the thousands of other names inscribed in the church; in the registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths that included the

71 RAAKASJA 2642, *Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. In fo.; latest date of monument recorded 1770.

72 On Sweertius’ purpose, see Sparrow 1969, 32; on *Le Grand theatre*, see Lawrence 1981, 49–52.

73 RAAKASJA 2642, 37: “... in ea manus sculptoris van Beveren dolores Virginis tam artificiose et ad vivum expressit, ut elegantius quidquam videri nequeat, nec ab authore melius prodiisse noscatur.”: for this sculpture see above, chapter 6.

whole community, in the membership lists and name catalogs of confraternities, and on the balusters of chapel fences. Death was ennobled by coats of arms and inscriptions, foiled by portraits after the life of those whose corpses lay below, sanctified by sacraments, softened by holy images, lightened by prayers for the souls suffering in purgatory, embraced by the community of the church, integrated into the society of the living, and exalted by art. The parish church had built itself as the medium between this life and the next, a simulacrum of the heaven that it imagined in its own image.

Church Against State in the Time of Enlightenment and Revolution

11.1 Introduction

In the last two chapters I have argued that the Emperor Joseph II's edicts, prohibiting burials inside the city walls in 1784 and disbanding confraternities in 1786, suddenly ended devotions and customs that had shaped the history of St. Jacob's during the Counter Reformation. Confraternity devotions and commemoration of the dead invested the church with deep and immediate meaning for many different kinds of people living in the parish. Those practices at the same time integrated the church into the international community of Catholic belief centered in Rome. Joseph II deliberately attacked these two targets as part of his larger campaign to destroy the independent power exercised in his territories by the Church of Rome. He intended quickly and ruthlessly to contain the Catholic Church within the rational structure of a reformed society. A national, "Belgian Church" would be subordinate to the universal, enlightened principles of the modern, central State. Joseph's measures brought to a climax the conflicts that had been fought inside the Catholic Church for more than a century, and that grew from the same roots out of which emerged the even more radical change imposed less than a decade later, during the 1790s, by the occupying forces of the French Republic. This chapter examines St. Jacob's successive responses to the contested issues and to incursions by foreign powers hostile to the Roman Catholic Church. St. Jacob's showed itself determined to maintain and expand the material aspects of Counter Reformation religion, motivated by beliefs and politics strong enough to establish this parish church as a bulwark of conservative opposition and in the end as a flash point of resistance against change.

11.2 Cultivating Old and New Devotions

During the 18th century the churchwardens nurtured and expanded devotions they had founded in the first place to defy Jansenist attacks against the external signs of religion. St. Jacob's cultivated the veneration of images, Mary,

and the saints, the observance of frequent confession and communion, all of which the Jansenists condemned as the illusions of a false piety. By early in the 18th century the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Antwerp and the Archdiocese of Mechelen had suppressed Jansenist doctrines. Prevalent religious practices signaled the triumph of a kind of worship that remained loyal to the pope, the Church of Rome, and the dazzling rhetoric of the Jesuits.

Exactly what the Jansenists opposed is stated bluntly by the Jansenist priest Pierre Sartre of Montpellier who visited Antwerp in 1719 on his way home after a six week mission to consult with Pasquier Quesnel, the Jansenist leader exiled in Holland. At first Sartre was exhilarated to be again in a Catholic country where he could openly wear his priestly habit and take off the mask behind which he was forced to hide in Calvinist Holland. But that joy quickly soured. In Antwerp Cathedral he was repelled by the "bad taste" of the religious ceremonies: "All these Flemings who previously were subjects of the king of Spain remain Spanish at heart, share ultramontane convictions, and recognize only the superficial and concrete aspect of piety." The sacred content of the mass was obscured by the splendid ornament of Italian music too trivial for the holy rites. Canons wore precious vestments and carried staffs of silver. But instead of attending to the priest's celebration of the mass, most everyone, laypeople and canons alike, chatted or listened to the music, while the more pious prayed their rosaries. "You can judge," Sartre added, "from all the superficiality of these ceremonies that soul and spirit could grasp only with difficulty the light and knowledge of Religion; further, all the good priests in this country sense the impropriety of it, and they have assured us several times that Flemish piety consists in nothing more than decorating their churches and filling them with marble sculptures and pictures, but they do not at all know about the virtues of the heart of the soul of Christian piety."¹

Sartre extended his judgment to all the churches of Antwerp. Even if his Jansenist disapproval says very little about the diverse motives for Flemish religious practice, he aptly characterized the appearance of their churches, especially that of St. Jacob's. Plans were underway at exactly this time to

1 Advielle 1896, 371: "Vous jugez assez par tout cet extérieur des cérémonies qu'il est difficile que la lumière et la connaissance de la Religion en fassent l'âme et l'esprit; aussi, tous les bons ecclésiastiques qui sont dans ce pays, en sentent-ils l'inconvénient, et ils nous ont assuré plusieurs fois que toute la piété des Flamands consistait à décorer leurs églises et à les charger de marbres et de tableaux, mais qu'ils ne connaissaient point les vertus du cœur de l'âme de la piété chrétienne."

embellish the already ornate church with new gates to the ambulatory, a red marble porch inside the west entrance, and the splendid new organ over the roodscreen. Thriving devotions animated the magnificent setting with prayer and masses set to music. These had been founded earlier in opposition to the ascetic rigor demanded by Jansenism. In 1719 Lenten meditations on the image of *The Virgin of Sorrows* proved so popular that they burst the confines of the Lady Chapel where the image had been displayed since 1650 and forced the crowd into the nave.²

Another image also achieved the status of a cult late in the 17th century. Matthys van Beveren's beautiful and expressive 1661 *Ecce Homo* (as the inscription encapsulates a content of much greater complexity) was mounted high up, looking down from the partition at the corner of the north aisle where the nave meets the crossing (fig. 11.1). "Our Lord on the Stone," as it was called, attracted steady donations well into the 1730s. At that time, hoping to inspire piety and generate support for the church, the churchwardens began to admit more objects of devotion into the public space of the nave that they previously had kept free. Their decision also responded to a significant decline in parish population for the first time since the early 17th century, reflecting Antwerp's loss of workers as its industries reached their lowest ebb.³

Two more shrines to saints erected in the nave during the mid-18th century both introduced into the parish devotions that the Jesuits had orchestrated and disseminated on an international scale. I already have traced back to the Jesuits the major new cult of St. John Nepomucenus that St. Jacob's churchwardens introduced in 1740 when they installed Laurys Gillis's life-size marble sculpture of the saint (see above, fig. 9.3). They strengthened this devotion through a lengthy campaign that employed prayer prints, the acquisition of relics authenticated by bishop and pope, and lavish feast day celebrations.⁴

The generous donations that quickly filled the collection box for Nepomucenus marked a success. This response met the church's need to supplement its income that had been drastically reduced by a 1737–1739 crisis in

2 See above, chapters 6 and 9.

3 See Blockmans 1952, 402–404, for baptism statistics that he correlates with changes of population in each parish. St. Jacob's reached its lowest point 1740–1745.

4 See above, chapter 9.



FIGURE 11.1 *Matthys van Beveren. Ecce Homo, Christ on the Stone, 1661.*

PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

Antwerp's municipal finances.⁵ By erecting the statue in the north aisle, against the next partition wall of the Holy Cross Chapel adjacent to the image of *Christ on the Cold Stone*, the churchwardens set two money-making shrines next to one other, each equipped with a collection box (fig. 11.2).⁶

The new devotion took root and produced two offshoots. In 1753 political conflicts prompted foundation of an elite brotherhood dedicated to Nepomucenus (see above, chapter 9). Two years later, in 1755, a separate group of neighbors living near the intersection of the Parochiaanstr. and Langenieuwestr., a corner of St. Jacob's large rectangular block, petitioned the Antwerp Magistracy to erect there "a fine image in honor of the Holy Mother of God or of St. John Nepomucenus, according to the wishes of your excellencies" (fig. 11.3). The statue would be illuminated by a lamp hanging below, intended to light up the dark corners where thieves lurked and preyed on pedestrians during the long winter nights.⁷ Granting their consent, Antwerp's Magistracy chose Nepomucenus instead of the Virgin Mary to guard over this corner, perhaps because these same burgomasters and aldermen who had banded together in their elite Brotherhood of St. John Nepomucenus now saw the opportunity to fix their patron's watchful eye above the very streets of the city. An inscription

5

RAAKASJA R.15.: 1735–50	Sunday Collections	Total Income	Total Expenses
1735	f.11r: 502—1	f.9v: 6,566—13	f.17v: 6,083—19
1736	f.23v: 466—8	f.35r: 6,351—18	f.44r: 5,902—1
1737	f.50r: 408—18	f.60r: 4,255—2	f.69r: 4,439—3
1738	f.75v: 391—2	f.84v: 3,767—11	f.93v: 4,373—9
1739	f.99r: 378—17	f.109v: 3,441—18	f.119r: 5,228—8
1740	f.124r: 345—15	f.134r: 5,829—19	f.143r: 6,964—16
1741	f.149r: 302	f.159v: 5,897—18	f.167v: 5,831—16
1742	f.171v: 280—7	f.182v: 5,996—12	f.190r: 5,865—10
1743	f.194r: 300—7	f.203v: 5,727—17	f.211r: 5,466—17
1744	f.216r: 332	f.226r: 4,874—6	f.235r: 4,574—1
1745	f.269v: 347—19	f.280v: 7,593—18	f.288r: 6,862—18
1746	f.240v: 314—12	f.253v: 6,496—2	f.262v: 4,631
1747	f.293v: 330—16	f.306v: 8,021—5	f.315v: 5,898—17
1748	f.321v: 303—13	f.335r: 6,587—4	f.344r: 3,956—9
1749	f.350v: 342—14	f.365r: 7,918—18	f.373v: 4,612—7
1750	f.379r: 286—7	f.393v: 8,379—19	f.402v: 7,044—3

6 Muller 2006.

7 Thijssen 1922, 202–203, for a transcription of the petition.



FIGURE 11.2 *View of Ecce Homo and St. John Nepomucenus together.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

on the cartouche below the new street image, dated 1756—eCCe Ioannes Date LUMen (Behold Joannes Give Light)—joined the spiritual and earthly light that radiated from the saint.⁸

This new saint, one of the few canonized during the 18th century, martyred by a Holy Roman Emperor for defending the secrecy of confession, may have been chosen by the Jesuits as their symbol to rally defense of the Roman Catholic Church against the increasing assaults mounted by the Austrian-Hapsburg State. A measure of the Jesuits' success is given in the variety of needs that the new saint and his images could meet. St. Jacob's increased its regular income at a moment of economic crisis, inspired renewed fervor, furnished elite politicians with a symbol of unity, extended the association of sacred and civic order into the parish streets with the street corner image and lamp protecting against robbers, and competed with the Jesuits themselves who already had erected an image and established the saint's cult in their own Antwerp church. What could be more effective than to create the illusion of independence within a system that was carefully regulated? The Jesuits could exert that kind of decisive influence on the course of devotion in a parish church. Because they so forcefully defended the Roman Catholic Church

⁸ See Thijssen 1922, 203, for the inscription which was obliterated in 1912.



FIGURE 11.3 *Corner statue of St. John Nepomucenus from distance showing intersection of the Langenüwest. and Parochiaanstr.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR.

and its traditional practices from encroachment by the State, the Jesuits were suppressed throughout the territories of the Austrian empire, including the Netherlands, in 1773, as part of the global suppression of the Society.

Soon after, in 1775, a picture of St. John Nepomucenus became a flash point for the conflict fought by both laypeople and clergy over the proper use of images, the worship of saints, and the belief in miracles that Jansenist rigor now challenged more effectively through the authority of the State. It was May 15, the eve of John Nepomucenus's feast day, at vespers, when someone hung a picture in a gilded frame on the pillar behind the saint's image in St. Jacob's. The picture, "tolerably well-done," depicted "from life" ("ad vivum") a miracle purportedly worked through the saint's intercession, thus an anonymous, spontaneous votive offering. St. Jacob's pastor, Wouters, nevertheless immediately ordered the picture taken down, because all who saw it laughed both at the representation of the miracle and at the naive faith shown in it. Carried on appeal to the vicars general who occupied the vacant seat of the bishop, the image met with their approval and on May 19 was reaffixed to its original location where it remained until the end of the octave. In that interval when a rogation procession, on its way to the St. Willibrordus Church in Borgerhout outside the city walls, made its regularly scheduled transit through St. Jacob's, priests from the Cathedral and the other parishes, along with the city Magistracy followed by a crowd of laypeople, all pressed around the now notorious image. The wave of laughter that originally greeted it now swelled to citywide proportions. It is no mild irony that this ridicule in the spirit of rational skepticism and Jansenist rigor burst forth from a crowd marching in an age-old ritual procession to assure fertility and a good harvest, as if any expression of faith outside the traditional and officially set boundaries no longer would be tolerated. Afterwards the painting disappeared, never to be seen again, and the collegiate chapter of St. Jacob's declared itself neutral on a matter about which there was no one to question or blame.⁹

9 See RAAKASJA 2805, *Actorum capituli liber IX*: 18 Junii 1774–31 Julii 1779, pp. 34–35. 1775: "Nota die 15a huius mensis, pridie festi Sti Joannis Nepomuceni, ante vespas, affixa fuit columnæ lapideæ cui, perpetuo adhæret eiusdem Sti statua marmorea et altare gestatorium (solum modo per octavam) imaguncula quædam, satis nitide depicta, in quadro deaurato, ad vivum representans prætersum aliquod miraculum, per intercessionem (ut volunt) huius Sti operatum, et paulo post (scilicet immediate ante easdem vespas) iussei Rdi dni Wouters huius ecclesiæ pastoris, per N. Stevens eiusdem ecclesiæ ministrum, ex eadem columna deposita est, præfata imaguncula; ridentibus nimirum omnibus, et repræsentationem, et fidem illius miraculi: quæ tamen imagunucula ad R: Rdot[l] adm. vicarios generales (sede vacante) delata et examinata, de eorum permissi, 19a eiusdem mensis, seu 3a die infra octavam diciti Sti jonis iterum affixa fuit primo loco in parte nimirum australi columnæ prædictæ columnam

St. Jacob's churchwardens repeated the pattern of devotion traced for St. John Nepomucenus when, in 1759, they installed a pedestal in the south aisle of the nave containing the relics of St. Donatus (see above, fig. 9.4). The Jesuits promoted the saint's cult by building his reputation as a powerful intercessor against destructive weather, and by parceling out relics of the holy martyr's body throughout Europe. At St. Jacob's Donatus' brotherhood and cult immediately attracted a mass following.¹⁰ Saints, images, relics, devotional prints, brotherhoods, feasts, processions, authentication from pope and bishop, all reiterated the practices established by the Counter Reformation Catholic Church. Local needs meshed with the official devotions promulgated internationally. Worship of St. Donatus, promoted in this manner, actually co-opted the one true grassroots confraternity sprouted in St. Jacob's, the Brotherhood of Thunder and Lightning (see above, chapter 9). St. Donatus' official cult, along with the other new devotions that St. Jacob's adopted during the 18th century, were intended to reverse the slow destruction of traditional religion worked by the Austrian State.

A manuscript, begun in 1677, lists the duties of the churchwardens throughout the year. It records both the deeper social significance of these traditional practices and their gradual disappearance in the face of official prohibitions. Each November the churchwardens would welcome their newly elected colleagues at a banquet in the churchwardens chamber where male friends and family would join them. Salad, herring, fish liver, cods' head with apples, salt cod, raw and roasted oysters, cherries, and lemons, were washed down with French wine to the singing of St. Jacob's chorus master. During an intermezzo the new churchwarden was presented with the keys to the church hanging on a decorated drinking glass accompanied by good wishes. Meat, capon, more oysters, cherries, and lemons topped off the meal.

Food and conviviality persisted into the 18th century as the festivities that would enliven even solemn occasions. On Holy Thursday the churchwardens

S: S: triadis versus, remansitque ibidem, usque ad finem octavæ inclusive, nihilo minore cum concursu et risu populi imprimis die 2a rogationum ad Stum Willibrordum in Borgerhout, transeuntibus per nostram ecclesiam (ut moris est) clero cathedralis ecclesiæ cæterarumque parochiarum cum toto magistratu et infinita multitudine laicorum utriusque sexus. igitur post peractem octavam ex oculus evanuit illa imaguncula, dies novæ apparitionis ignoratur huc usque. Capitulum Sti jacobī, in his omnibus habuit se omnino indifferens, ut pote a nemine nec admonitum (in forma) nec interrogatum, noluit absque aperta necessitate, se se immiscere rebus (ut videre est) valde apocryphis; hæc (propter rationes) non fuerunt prælecta in capitulo, sed tamen Amplo dno decano, quod attestor.

J: A: de Noel Cans actuars."

10 See above, chapter 9.

in their chamber regaled the men who guarded the “Holy Grave” during the days before Easter. They would stand vigil at night in front of the sepulcher erected in the nave that contained at St. Jacob’s the consecrated host, removed for this occasion from the high altar. For their “last supper” on Holy Thursday, the watchmen enjoyed figs, raisins, almonds, beer, cake, and “small bread work.” On Easter the pastor entertained the churchwardens at dinner. On the anniversary of St. Jacob’s Holy Trinity Brotherhood, the second Sunday in May, before the procession, the churchwardens breakfasted in their chamber on cherries, radishes, and greens with buttered bread, beer and liver. After the great procession on Corpus Christi the churchwardens set out a breakfast of cherries, strawberries, and liver. On the evening of St. James’s feast day (Jul.25), when the singers descended from the rood loft after lauds, they were given bakers’ cakes.¹¹

In most of these exchanges wealthy churchwardens rewarded their subordinates, the workers in the church. Likewise the exchange of greetings on New Year’s Day was arranged as an ascent up the social ladder, in which people of lower rank visited their betters. Chaplains, assistants, and church workers visited the churchwardens. Churchwardens visited the pastor and upper churchwardens.¹²

A later hand from the second half of 18th century went through this list noting that most of the practices had been suppressed; “not done any longer,” “discontinued,” “abolished,” “abrogated.” In one instance, serving breakfast after the procession of Corpus Christi, an explanation was offered: “abolished and no longer observed because it served the servant of the church to excess and confusion rather than to the edification of the masters of the church.”¹³ But these festive customs withered away in the chill spread by a broader campaign to separate the sacred from the profane and to root out traditional custom from religious observance.

Most jarring to St. Jacob’s position in the parish community was the bishop’s decision in 1751 to abolish the annual feast day procession for the church’s patron, St. James.¹⁴ This order, issued by the diocese, was all the more unsettling

11 RAAKASJA 51, Boek genaemd den Ouden Hagens inhoudende rubrieken en resolutien der Kerkmeesters enz., 1677–1770, f.4r, f.7r.–f.8r.

12 RAAKASJA 51, Gewoone en buytengewoone rubrieken en resolutien der Kerkmeesters, 1731–1802, f.3–4.

13 RAAKASJA 51, Boek genaemd den Ouden Hagens inhoudende rubrieken en resolutien der Kerkmeesters enz., 1677–1770, f.8r., “abolevit et non amplius quia magis serviebat servu ecclesiae ad confusionem et excessum quam magistrorum ecclesiae ad aedificationem.”

14 Diercxsens 1773, VI, 223; De Ram 1828–1858, III, 82.

for reversing one of the key measures by which the Spanish-Hapsburg regime in 1586 had asserted Catholic rule over the city, the restitution of all the major religious processions that the Calvinist Republic had banned in Antwerp (see above, chapter 2). Control over public space and time had been in the balance. Now, in the mid-18th century, the Austrian-Hapsburg government forced the bishop in the opposite direction as one means to circumscribe the power of the Church within that of the State.

Since every parish church in Antwerp celebrated its own procession in a similar manner, the prohibition against them all in 1751 forced a significant change. It restricted the veneration of saints, shortened the time devoted to religious feasts at the expense of workdays, and reduced the presence of the sacred in the city streets.

Some local religious traditions faded of their own accord. 1617–1618 marks the last record of a great bonfire that burned in St. Jacob's tower to celebrate Christmas Eve.¹⁵ "Ladies' chairs," set out during sermons, disappeared from around the pulpit by the late 17th century. After 1750, however, the Austrian regime applied relentless pressure to standardize religious practice and to keep it bottled up inside the church, away from the business of everyday life. At St. Jacob's, more processions were suppressed.¹⁶ I also have drawn attention to the derision and condemnation provoked by an *ex voto* image of St. John Nepomucenus in 1775. These reactions worked as an efficient mechanism of self-censorship to enforce the new skepticism towards miracles, saints, and images.

But it was the enlightened Emperor Joseph II who delivered the most damaging blows. He worked systematically to destroy the edifice of the Counter Reformation and to subordinate the Catholic Church to the power of the State. A key part of his strategy involved the reorganization of parish churches to meet the new demands of a growing urban population in which poverty threatened stability. During the 1780s Joseph II decreed the end of all "useless" convents and redeemed their property to support new parishes. As I have noted, he prohibited burials inside the city walls, and disbanded the devotional religious brotherhoods in favor of a new universal brotherhood of

15 RAAKASJA R.8., *Kerkrekening 1617–1618*, f.49r., "Betaelt voor 25 halfhout om op den thoren te branden op den kersnacht—8 guldens."

16 For the Austrian policy to limit the power of the Catholic Church, see Hasquin 1987. RAAKASJA 51, *Gewoone en buytengewoone rubrieken en resolutien der Kerkmeesters, 1731–1802*, f.4, procession on second Sunday of each month after lauds outside around the block of the church (short processional route) banned by the bishop in 1772; f.18, procession of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, suppressed in 1771.

Love for One's Neighbor, with a branch in every parish (see above chapters 9 and 10).¹⁷ However, because the Catholic Church had accumulated independent power by means of these very institutions and practices, its conservative adherents could mobilize strong resistance from within to fight the changes that threatened to shake their grip on the city. Here, the question to answer is how St. Jacob's reacted in comparison with other parish churches in the city and region.

11.3 St. Jacob's Responds to the Edicts of Joseph II and to the Occupation Government of the French Republic: Resistance and Survival

On the face of it, Antwerp's churches obeyed the Emperor's 1786 edict to disband their religious brotherhoods. The bound volume of inventories in the Antwerp City Archives attests to that. Some confraternities attempted subterfuge by arguing that what they owned really belonged to the church or to private individuals. By and large they dutifully complied with the Emperor's demands. St. Jacob's conformed to this policy.

But organized resistance at a deeper level did stiffen around the six parish brotherhoods of the fortnightly viaticum. Officers from all branches met immediately after publication of Joseph II's edict, to petition Antwerp's Magistracy for an exemption from the ban.¹⁸ This first appeal failed to convince the authorities that carrying the viaticum to the poor fulfilled the Emperor's exclusive purpose for brotherhoods of active love towards one's fellow man. Forced to disband, the parish branches resorted to different tactics. In St. Andries members of the brotherhood regrouped as "Assistants" to perform their duties.¹⁹ St. Jacob's also opened a new account book to continue the viaticum procession without labeling the association a "brotherhood." The pastor, Matthieu van Camp, encouraged parishioners, and ninety of them subscribed, divided up between contributors who paid expenses and participants who actually would accompany the Eucharist through the streets.²⁰ St. Jacob's kept the most important ritual objects used for this procession by claiming that the six silver lanterns, silver standard, pennant, baldachin, and silver bell all belonged to a private foundation established by the Mertens (Martens) family who had

17 Hasquin 1987, 225–234.

18 Prims and Van Herck 1923, 369–370.

19 Visscher 1853–1860?, II, 314–316.

20 RAAKASJA 59/10.

supported the Sacrament Chapel since the mid-17th century. Indeed, Ignatius Mertens, their descendant, was director of the church's Viaticum Brotherhood, and now made available the income of his family foundation to continue the viaticum in spite of the Emperor's decree.²¹

In their second request the prefects of Antwerp's six viaticum confraternities participated directly in the reactionary backfire ignited by the Emperor's clumsy attempt at reform. Led by the provincial States of Brabant, conservative laypeople and clerics insisted on the traditional rights that Joseph II had threatened. Prefects of the Viaticum Confraternity, addressing the sovereign himself through his council in Brabant, demanded a return of official status and restitution of their confiscated property. Their arguments rested on concessions granted May 30, 1787, by the Emperor's governors in the Netherlands, who agreed that his edicts had violated the rights of the cities and should be retracted.²² By June 30 of the same year most of St. Jacob's brotherhoods had indeed retrieved what had been taken from them. Nevertheless, Joseph II remained adamant and the brotherhoods were not restored before 1789–1790 when his government was overthrown by the armed insurrection of the Brabant Revolution that established the United Belgian States.²³

Why did opposition rally around the Viaticum Brotherhood? One reason is that the officers of Antwerp's six parish branches had met together regularly since they signed a concordat in 1755. They could band together through an already established citywide organization from which they could take

21 FAA K 1980, Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786, no. 34, June 2, 1786, Inventaris van alle welk danige goederen, inkomsten en lasten van het Broederschap der Veerthien daeghsche berechtinge in de collegiale en parochiale kerke van den H. apostel Jacobus in de stad Antwerpen, f.93v.; RAAKASJA B.12, account book of the Holy Sacrament Chapel, 1781–1782/1811–1812, f.98v.; ARA: Kerkelijke Archieven: St. Jacobskerk, Antwerpen: Inventaris 110, No. 1.

Oostenrijkse Nederlanden/ Bisdóm en district van Antwerpen/ provincie Van Brabant/ de zoo genoemde Vierthien dagsche berechting in de praochiale kerke van den St. Jacobus/ fondatie Van Heer mertens oud Borgermeester en Jouff. mertens geestelycke dochter, Voorts vermeerderd en vergroot door de familie van Ignatius Mertens tot Antwerpen declarant met M.F. van Camp pastor deeser kerke. April 12, 1787, income 482 guilders 12 ¼ stivers; expenditure 455 guilders 18 stivers, to pay for musicians, lantern carriers, bell ringers, baldachin bearers, for the processions.

22 Heirwegh 1987, 472; Prims and Van Herck 1923, 376.

23 RAAKASJA B.43, Accounts of the Directors of the Holy Trinity Brotherhood, 52–55, copy of letter June 30, 1787, to the States of Brabant; 62, Brotherhood restored April 1790; Heirwegh 1987, 477–493.

action.²⁴ I already have argued that these brotherhoods were founded in the first place during the 1670s to fill a power vacuum created by the increasing weakness of the Spanish-Hapsburg State in the face of French invasion.²⁵ Now in 1786–1787 the parish clergy, supported by the bishop of Antwerp, turned the brotherhood's Eucharist processions into an assertion of Catholic power that opposed the Emperor's plans to disrupt the continuity of religious practice. Brotherhoods, processions, the sanctification of public space, frequent worship of the consecrated host all were defended.

St. Jacob's, like the other parishes in Antwerp, staged processions and celebrated imprecatory masses for the preservation of the Catholic Church that depended on the victory of "Belgian arms" over Austrian forces during the Brabant Revolution of 1789–1790, when entrenched clergy and nobility fought to protect their privileges. These fervent prayers issued above all from the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, which I have identified as the core of steadfast Catholic devotion among all the institutions in St. Jacob's, true to its heritage at the end of the *ancien régime*. Indeed, the chapel joined St. Jacob's collegiate chapter and the Confraternity of Faithful Souls to buy artillery for the rebels. Strong support for their efforts materialized in a flood of contributions that swelled the Sacrament Chapel's income during these years. Pope and bishop directly encouraged this militancy with free grants of indulgences. The chapel's own reports claim that the ceremonies they performed effectively mobilized public opinion in favor of the successful revolution and the new Catholic-conservative dominated government vested in the Belgian States General.²⁶ Church-orchestrated fervor opposed not only the Austrians, but also the democratic wing of the revolutionary movement that posed a new threat to the power of clergy and nobility alike, all the more frightening in the shadow of the French Revolution. In Sept. 1790, St. Jacob's Blessed Sacrament Chapel organized litanies and novenas (nine day devotions), along with collections on behalf of the "country's welfare" at exactly the moment when a crusading army of volunteers raised by the clergy battled in vain against strengthened Austrian forces.²⁷

24 *Concordaat* 1923, 9.

25 See above, chapter 9.

26 RAAKASJA B.12, account book of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 1781–1782/1811–1812, f.135v–154v, account for 1788–1789; f.155r–177v, account for 1789–1790; FAA PK 3198: E. Dilis, MS history of the Holy Sacrament Chapel, 100–104.

27 RAAKASJA B.12, account book of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, 1781–1782/1811–1812, account for 1790–1791, f.178v; Prims 1977–1985, VII, 111–112, for the ideological conflict in Antwerp; Heirwegh 1987, 483–489, for the larger context.

The Austrian government, restored to power in late 1790 under the rule of the new Emperor Leopold II (Joseph II had died Feb. 20, 1790), officially retracted all the reforms that had provoked the conservative revolution.²⁸ Institutions and practices in St. Jacob's reverted briefly to the status they enjoyed before 1786. But that normalcy of course lasted only for a short while.

Accounts of 1792–1794 record the church's contributions to war levies imposed on the city by the forces of the French Republic that now occupied the region. Chapels and church met their quotas by selling the silver liturgical vessels that they had accumulated over the previous two centuries.²⁹ At the heart of any interaction with this new State there burned the French Republic's desire to smash its mortal enemy, the Catholic Church.

In 1796 after the Republic had annexed the South Netherlands, new laws prohibited all public signs of religion. Antwerp's parish priests once again chose the viaticum procession as the most potent symbol of resistance. They warned that any changes in the practices of the religion courageously professed by the whole city would spark new proofs of the resolve already demonstrated under Joseph II and his successor the Emperor Leopold when people and priests joined in revolution to protect the institutions of their Church.³⁰ A year later that warning came true.

During the octave of the Corpus Christi, on Tues. June 29, 1797, St. Jacob's Viaticum Confraternity defied the laws and took its turn in staging the so-called "Beautiful Viaticum," a procession that followed a larger and prescribed circuit through the parish.³¹ Both pro-Catholic and French Republican sources concur that the procession was carefully staged to give it the extraordinary luster demanded by custom. The point in conflict was public display of marchers, priestly vestments, torches, baldachin, and all the appurtenances, the signs of religion that lent splendor to the ritual. The brotherhood assistant alerted the neighborhood to fix torches and hangings on the houses and to strew flowers along the route. But the French commissioner's report also indicates that torches distributed to the numerous marchers were intended from the start as weapons against the gendarmes who were sure to intervene. Supervised by two police commissioners, the gendarmes scattered the crowd accompanying the procession, removed torches from houses around the church, and arrested

28 Heirwegh 1987, 493–497.

29 RAAKASJA B.12, account book of the Holy Sacrament Chapel, 1781–1782/1811–1812, account for 1792–1793, f.224r.; account for 1793–1794, f.257r., with note that the Holy Sacrament Chapel's silver yielded a total contribution of 8,000 guilders.

30 RAA: PA: A 95: 2: f.1r., March 11, 1796.

31 *Concordaat* 1923, 12.

the pastor, Matthieu van Camp, who led the procession. Van Camp's adherents reacted violently, hurled stones, brandished torches, and injured the gendarmes who defended themselves by firing their carbines into the air.

Van Camp drew support from parishioners of all social classes. An aristocrat and leading member of the parish, Baron de Nevel, organized the distribution of torches. Officers of the confraternity participated willingly. Violence against the police exploded among "The people of the poor quarters of the parish, the Zwanengang and streets around it." Dargonne, the French commissioner of the Directory, characterized this commotion as a "popular movement" and took it as a serious threat. He and the new Jacobin city administration, installed in Sept. 1797, insisted on the prosecution of Van Camp who before the end of the year was condemned and sentenced to deportation for his crime of leading the viaticum procession.³² St. Jacob's pastor therefore was the first of Antwerp's parish priests to be deported, and numbered among the six clergy identified as the leaders of an organized resistance.³³

It is likely that Van Camp, "influential and turbulent" as the French described him, saved St. Jacob's from destruction through his resistance. Starting in Sept. 1797, the French shut down all of Antwerp's churches because the priests, at the instruction of the Vatican, refused to take an oath of loyalty to the laws of the Republic and of hatred for royalty and anarchy.³⁴ On Jan. 21, 1798, J.B. Jos. Adriaan Mortelmans, chaplain of the Our Lady Chapel in the Cathedral, became the first of only thirteen Antwerp priests to defy the Vatican and swear the Republic's oath. It was for him that the French re-opened St. Jacob's on Feb. 10, 1798, as the city's first "constitutional church."³⁵ Mortelmans and the French administration chose St. Jacob's because its pastor Van Camp had been deported, so that the church now could serve as the example of both punishment for breaking the law and reward for obeying it.

Even as the church remained open its paintings and sculptures became targets of the rapacious French occupation that sought to transform religious objects into works of art. The French could even consult editions of an 18th-century guidebook to the art of Antwerp's churches, the *Description of the principal paintings, sculptures and other rarities by the most famous and oldest masters to be found in the churches and convents of the city of Antwerp* (1755

32 RAA: PA: A: 95: 3; 2 Messidor An V (June 20, 1797), f.1r.-f.2r.; 3 Messidor An V. (June 21, 1797), f.1r.-2r.; A: 95: 10; Van der Straelen *Kronijk* in Prims 1935, 102-103.

33 Prims 1935, 163-165, 203.

34 Prims 1935, 79, article 5 of the law of 7 Vendémiaire, year 4; Prims 1935, 124, article 25 of the law of 22 Fructidor year v.

35 Prims 1935, 214-22.

and subsequent editions), to help them decide which were the best works that they should confiscate.³⁶ Rubens's *Virgin and Child with Saints*, the altarpiece for his own burial chapel, was transported to Paris in July 1794. Four years later, on Aug. 8, 1798 (21 Thermidor an VI), Dargonne, the same commissioner of the Directory, proposed to strip St. Jacob's of twenty-one "national monuments of art and science," the finest paintings and sculptures in the church, including the high altar itself, the communion rail in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, and Hendrik van Balen's epitaph painting of *The Resurrection*.³⁷ If that plan had succeeded, the whole Counter Reformation decoration of St. Jacob's would have been destroyed. But it never happened.

In 1815, after Napoleon had been defeated and the French occupation lifted, Rubens's epitaph painting was returned to its original location in the church.³⁸ A year later the new Museum of the City of Antwerp claimed the other pictures retrieved from France. Most of these had been taken from churches that no longer existed (see the Introduction above). The French Republic had been remarkably efficient in dismantling the whole infrastructure of the Catholic Church built during the Counter Reformation.

St. Jacob's literally incorporated fragments of the churches stripped bare and sold off in the waves of destruction that it escaped. In 1784 the St. Anthony Chapel seized the opportunity to buy the high altar retable frame of the Antwerp convent church of the Victorinnen, one of the "useless" regular orders suppressed by the edict of Emperor Joseph II (see above, chapter 8; fig. 11.4).³⁹ At the same time, through this acquisition, St. Jacob's churchwardens remained true to the ideal of magnificence in the nave chapels that their predecessors had first put into practice more than a century earlier.

It is not at all clear why the churchwardens decided in 1804 to dismantle and sell the altar retables of the St. Gertruidis and Presentation of the Virgin chapels, the two westernmost chapels in the nave.⁴⁰ These retables also were old-fashioned, like the older St. Anthony Chapel retable, and the institutions that supported their cults had withered away. But nothing replaced them until 1857

36 See Bérbie 1755, 1756, n.d.

37 RAA: PA: K: 448: 1: letter from S.P. Dargonne Commissioner of the executive Directory, attached to the Municipal Administration of Antwerp, capital of the Department of the two Néthes, to the Central Administration of the Department of the two Néthes, accompanying the list of 21 works from St. Jacob's, prepared with the help of painter Willem Jacob Herreyns.

38 See Van Lerijs 1855, 122; Söding 1986, 88.

39 RAAKASJA 1090.

40 Van Lerijs 1855, 56 and 175.



FIGURE 11.4 *Retable of the St. Anthony Chapel.*
PHOTO: JAN LANDAU—LIGHTHOUSE.

when Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder's elaborate grave monument for Marquis Francisco Marcos de Velasco (d.1693), governor of the Antwerp Citadel, was reassembled in the St. Gertruidis Chapel, after having been salvaged from the demolished Citadel Church and stored until then in Antwerp Cathedral. In 1867 the Presentation Chapel followed suit by acquiring for its altar, newly dedicated to St. George, the beautiful retable manufactured in 1598 by the De Nole brothers for the altar of the New Longbow Militia Guild in Antwerp Cathedral.⁴¹ Both are works of key symbolic importance for the history of Counter Reformation Antwerp. The Cathedral retable is the only surviving example of the many guild altars built in the Cathedral nave after the Spanish victory of 1585 to proclaim the restoration of Catholicism in the city. All the rest had been demolished by the French during the 1790s. The tomb monument of the Marquis de Velasco commemorates Spanish rule imposed from the Citadel fortress. Both are great works of Antwerp Counter Reformation sculpture.

In his 1855 guidebook to St. Jacob's, T. van Lierus devoted special attention to documenting the period of French occupation as a time of martyrdom and disaster for the Tridentine Catholic Church, even though St. Jacob's emerged mostly unscathed: "Tyranny never weighed more odiously on our country."⁴² His great-uncle Pierre van den Perre, last abbot of the Cistercian Pieter Pot Abbey in the city, participated in the hidden, private celebration of the mass after the French closed the churches in 1797. Van Lierus attacked the Museum of Antwerp for not returning in 1802, after the Concordat of 1801 between the Vatican and Napoleon, Marten de Vos's triptych for the Antwerp mint that the French had taken from the St. Andries Church in 1798: "These works which were seized from their rightful owners, but were not sold, are to be found today in the Museum, where one cannot see them gratis every day, while the masterpieces that they planned to pillage from St. Jacob's, are accessible in this church, from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, to rich and poor alike."

St. Jacob's may have kept its paintings and sculptures. Still, Van Lierus regretted every change made after 1794 as a sacrilege and betrayal of Catholicism's Counter Reformation Golden Age embodied by the church. The French had robbed St. Jacob's of its silver vessels in 1794 and of its church bells in 1799. Although Matthieu van Camp returned as pastor of St. Jacob's in 1802, he and the churchwardens, persuaded by fashion, violated the precious body of the church. Even the name of Rubens inscribed on one of the columns could not keep the churchwardens from tearing down the enclosure fence of the Blessed

41 Casteels 108–109, who notes the complicated history of this retable, in which some parts may be original, and others 19th-century replacements.

42 Van Lierus 1855, 10–50, for what follows.

Sacrament Chapel. When they repaved the church floor, 1806–1811, they showed no regard for the historical value of inscriptions or for the property rights and private memories of the families whose tomb slabs they removed, mutilated, and displaced. Van Lerijs ridiculed architect Jan Kaulman's design for the new baptistery enclosure that replaced the old one in 1804, saying that it looked like something taken from the mortuary of a tavern-keeper or of a merchant in women's fashions. And, he could not understand why the retables of the Presentation and St. Gertruidis chapels had been sold in 1804.

Van Lerijs, churchwarden and secretary of St. Jacob's in 1855, must have been instrumental in the decision to acquire the works by De Nole and Scheemaekers, torn by the French from the Citadel Church and from the Cathedral, to decorate these two empty chapels. He could reverse at least some of the destruction that had dismantled the edifice of a triumphant Counter Reformation. For that reason Van Lerijs closed his introduction by giving thanks "to the All Powerful for that which he deigned to conserve for his cult, this beautiful temple of St. Jacob, where our fathers prayed, and where repose, in expectation of blessed eternity, the mortal remains of so many men distinguished by their talents and virtues."

Conclusion

St. Jacob's today is the most beautiful and best preserved Counter Reformation church in Antwerp. Filled with masterpieces of painting and sculpture, it could be seen as a museum of Flemish art. Guidebooks started early in the 18th century to select what was most worthwhile. Rubens's tomb in its chapel behind the high altar, decorated with one of his finest pictures, has since taken on the status of a cult sacred to art.

But that harmonious and splendid church is, in its current state, the improbable result of a long, unpredictable history. Although Spain restored Catholicism as the exclusive faith in 1585, recovery from iconoclasm and Calvinist rebellion followed slowly. Construction on St. Jacob's ended only in 1656; a fine Gothic church in the "Age of Rubens" and the "Age of Baroque." Successive stages of ornament after 1585 unified the expanding interior through innovative adaptations of antique style rooted in the principles of ancient Greek and Roman architecture. Today, a patterned screen of that antique ornament, superimposed over the Gothic structure, catches the visitor's eye at the human scale and orders experience of the church.

Crisis and conflict evoked a modern version of antique beauty to frame the luminous Gothic shell and save the church from destruction. Around 1660 plague, economic collapse, political unrest, neglect of the poor, Jesuit competition, and runaway debt all threatened to pull St. Jacob's down into ruin. Out of that turmoil arose the ornate new choir stalls, the glorious roodscreen, a pulpit with trumpeting angels, sumptuous marble retables in the side chapels, and the radiant triumph of St. Jacob/James ascending to heaven over the new high altar. Art resolved the crisis and opened the way.

St. Jacob's would have foundered, or emerged diminished, if the crisis of 1656–1664 had not been solved by rallying to strength and power. The churchwardens diverted charity away from the poor to complete the decoration that would attract the wealthy. Supporters of the church founded a new collegiate chapter of canons that incorporated inside the parish the aristocratic privilege sought outside in the world by Antwerp's elite patrician and merchant class. When plans for a new Jesuit Church threatened to steal away their sources of income the churchwardens sued to eliminate the competition they feared. More aggressively, Antwerp's Magistracy among St. Jacob's churchwardens won a symbolic victory over their chronic antagonists in the city's guilds when they evicted the chapel wardens, who were deans and artisans of the guilds, from the

Chapel of St. Roch in 1657 and awarded control to an aristocrat allied with the Spanish government in Brussels.¹ The result of that conflict fought over church space and patronage of an altar retable foreshadowed the Spanish army's real suppression of guild rebellion the following year, 1658, in what proved to be the most serious outbreak of political violence to erupt in Antwerp during the 17th century. The same antagonists fought each other in both conflicts, first inside, then outside the church. A strategy of magnificence triumphed in St. Jacob's that now consolidated its position as the church of Antwerp's elite. The high concentration of wealthy merchant-bankers and magistrates resident in the parish furnishes a decisive condition to explain St. Jacob's extraordinary and unique character.

St. Jacob's beauty of a kind as it now appears was the cause and result of triumph. After the plan of magnificence had been implemented gradually in the decades after 1660, the church's resplendent beauty, its renown, and new financial stability drew to it a wider and more diverse community that thrived well into the 18th century. St. Roch's chapel, co-opted by the faction of pro-Spanish aristocrats who organized an exclusive brotherhood around it, also attracted with its splendid ornament the thousands who sought refuge from plague. In 1677 a group from the poorest street in the parish added to that ornament with a generous gift of liturgical silver. By seizing control, the most powerful created a truly popular cult. It is possible to see in the dynamic of this conflict over religion a strong example of how society worshipped its own collective strengths.²

Before its triumph in crisis St. Jacob's had enjoyed special recognition from early in the 17th century. Following the Catholic restoration in 1585 Antwerp's Magistracy singled it out as the one parish church in a handful of ecclesiastical institutions that deserved most support because they were key to the city's Counter Reformation. Four guilds were obligated to restore their chapel altars inside. Representatives of the Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish merchant "nations" resident in the parish contributed more generously as their conviction grew that the Spanish regime was firmly entrenched. Patricians whose ancestors lay buried in St. Jacob's participated actively once again. The plan to found a chapter of canons, second to the Cathedral Chapter, was conceived by wealthy donors in 1628. During mid-century prominent families built new chapels around the ambulatory to legitimize their ascent into the aristocracy and secure their positions for the future. Along with these worldly motives, devotion burned bright in the two "great" chapels on either side of the high altar dedicated

1 See Boone and Prak 1995, on the chronic struggle between urban elite and guilds in the Netherlands.

2 Durkheim 1915, especially the Conclusion, 462–496.

to the Virgin Mary and to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Saints and sacraments flourished in defiance of the attacks that Jansenists mounted against what they viewed as superficial observance. Thousands flocked to these devotions that Jansenists dismissed as nothing more than a taste for pictures and sculptures. A mass brotherhood was founded to ransom Christians enslaved in North Africa. Each soul of the thousands who lived in the parish received the sacraments of baptism, penance, communion, and holy matrimony in the church where new furnishings and chapels configured the sacred rites differently from what they had been before and in conformance with what the Council of Trent and the Counter Reformation Church required. Despite all this growth and activity, the church plunged into crisis the year it finally was completed in 1656.

In fact, the churchwardens' ambitions for St. Jacob's caused the crisis and solved it. Rising debt for construction, including the Rubens Chapel, brought the church close to bankruptcy. After the churchwardens had successfully implemented their strategy of magnificence, St. Jacob's could attract generous donations and embrace a wider diversity. Starting in the 1670s more brotherhoods proliferated inside St. Jacob's than in any other Antwerp church. Well into the 18th century their varied purposes welcomed different walks of life who otherwise would have been left without a place to gather or a voice to represent their interests. Women dominated the membership of confraternities devoted to a good death, prayers for compassion from the Mater Dolorosa, or to free souls from their suffering in purgatory. Youth of the parish joined together in veneration of St. James (Jacob), patron of the church. The city's elite defended its own honor under the protection of St. John Nepomucenus. Captains of Antwerp's civic guard assembled in a surrogate court of the Spanish king staged in St. Jacob's choir where they displayed solidarity in the face of attack from the armies of Louis XIV. Workers and journeymen, who saw their incomes and standing diminished by industrialization, united in brotherhoods of mutual support. One of these, the coachmen's Brotherhood of St. Guido, declared that it could not exist and would disband outside of St. Jacob's.

Without the church the coachmen's brotherhood could not exist. All the paintings, sculptures, chapels, tombs, and chalices, the rainbow of material symbols that fill the church, were equally necessary for the institutions that engendered them. These commonly held signs of religion united the city in one belief. Even though each symbol embodied a powerful impetus, in St. Jacob's they never saturated the interior, disrupted its visual harmony, or caused dissension in the community. Conflict flared, but always was resolved. That balance among varied symbols and interests was not struck by accident in St. Jacob's. It was the carefully fashioned artifact crafted from a politics of style practiced by St. Jacob's churchwardens.

Antwerp's Counter Reformation, and St. Jacob's success in it, depended, as I have argued, on the real political authority vested in the churchwardens of the city's parishes. They were appointed by the city Magistracy with approval of the parish priest, and they themselves belonged to the ruling elite. It was their privilege to elect their successors. Churchwardens held the purse strings, managed construction, and apportioned the use of space. In St. Jacob's, unlike the other less affluent parishes, the churchwardens even paid their pastor. As a collective body only they could realize a coherent vision of the church that would materialize over successive generations. In collaboration with the wealthy merchants who generated the necessary income, and with the master masons and then the city's leading architects, when that profession emerged, the churchwardens developed their plans for St. Jacob's. Principles of ancient Greek and Roman architecture based on the writings of Vitruvius served them as the political instrument through which they could enforce conformity and continuity. The local community was strengthened by the assurance that even the most powerful could not install their monuments in the parish space of the nave or deviate from the unified symmetry of proportions and chosen materials held in common.

Not in spite of, but rather in dialogue with its local character, St. Jacob's also developed as part of larger citywide, regional, and international networks to implement the Catholic Counter Reformation. Material symbols and innovative design mediated between universal Catholic reforms and local needs when the community turned to St. Jacob's for the sacraments.

St. Jacob's baptistery occupied the traditional location at the church's threshold. But the churchwardens acquired for it a new marble font that conformed to reformed standards. The pastor started a parish registry of baptisms, and relied on a pastoral handbook in agreement with the new Roman Ritual, all steps taken in obedience to reforms decreed by the Council of Trent, post-Tridentine popes, and the Archdiocese of Mechelen. The sacrament of penance now was ministered in the new confessionals perfected by Carlo Borromeo in late-16th-century Milan and then gradually disseminated throughout the Catholic world to prevent the sexual contact between priests and penitents that had scandalized the sacrament. At the same time, by locating some confessionals in private chapels, St. Jacob's chose to strengthen the devotions housed in those chapels, rather than to follow to the letter Borromeo's stricture and the Archdiocese of Mechelen's decree, that confessionals should be placed only in open and public areas where surveillance would be constant.

As for communion and matrimony, I have recounted in detail how these sacraments found their home in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, the single most vital institution to enliven St. Jacob's, from the dramatic oath that Spanish

merchants swore to build it in 1549 to the stiff resistance the chapel mounted against the godless French Republic during the 1790s. Emphasis placed by the Counter Reformation Church on the Eucharist as the heart of Catholic worship and militant, grassroots Catholic faith in Antwerp that chose the Eucharist for its most potent symbol, converged in St. Jacob's Sacrament Chapel. In the face of Calvinist and French attacks against Catholic belief, adherents of the Sacrament Chapel rallied more quickly to restore the faith than did their counterparts who joined the other institutions embraced by the church. In the two centuries of Catholic domination between 1585 and 1794, the Sacrament Chapel enjoyed the kind of fervent support that made it the envy of those who attempted to limit or exploit its success. Simultaneously with the gradually filled-in plan for magnificence that the parish church implemented after 1660, the Sacrament Chapel expanded in 1664 according to a carefully visualized design that it completed in stages by the 1690s. Each new commission, for the altar retable, the marriage chapel, and the communion rail, generated an innovative masterpiece of Flemish sculpture. And during these decades the project was driven by the personal devotion of one individual, silversmith Joannes Moermans who served as chapel warden and wrought with his own hands a monstrance and ciborium for the chapel that proved to be widely influential masterpieces of his art. He was preceded and followed by others whose similar dedication maintained the flame of Catholic belief burning inside the Sacrament Chapel even when it sputtered or died out everywhere else. This teaches the lesson of allowing for diversity in scale and membership of institutions within the framework of a larger umbrella organization such as St. Jacob's and the universal Catholic Church. Even when the other parts came under attack and declined, the most stalwart supporters could rally around one core institution that could keep the flame alive.

Grassroots devotion flourished in the unique conditions of the Sacrament Chapel and in a few other corners of the church. Elsewhere in St. Jacob's, all the evidence suggests that the impulsive spark travelled from above or from some energy source outside that would jolt parishioners into action. A Trinity Brotherhood was founded as the most prominent branch of a national network, encouraged by the bishop and welcomed by St. Jacob's pastor. An image of Mary grieving over the body of her dead Son, exalted in the Our Lady Chapel in 1650 and worshipped by a brotherhood starting in 1674, sprang from the widespread devotion to Mary fostered by Antwerp's Jesuits, and offered the object for a particular prayer that the Jesuits campaigned to disseminate just around 1650. The new chapter of canons erected in 1656 completed a project launched in 1628 by Antwerp's Catholic elite. Generous contributions by parishioners for construction and decoration followed in the wake of large-scale finances

engineered by Antwerp's Magistracy and by the support for church construction decreed from Brussels in proclamations of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.

Everything hinged on power. Where a Catholic prince ruled with force majeure, the Church imposed its will. Where that power was weaker, the Church accommodated. And it would be unreasonable to expect that local conditions would not color the universal doctrines and practices of Catholicism so that they would appear as a rainbow.

But evidence for Antwerp in general, and for St. Jacob's in particular, at least confirms the exercise of central control where it counted. Even as he brought his siege of Antwerp to its successful conclusion, Duke Alessandro Farnese, Philip II's commander in the Netherlands, conferred with the papal nuncio Bonhomini, a follower of the model Counter Reformation bishop Carlo Borromeo, to work out in detail the project of Antwerp's return to the Catholic Church.³ They relied on the new administrative structure of bishoprics that Philip II had imposed on cities in the Netherlands starting in 1559 which provoked widespread resistance that contributed to the revolt and fragmentation of the Hapsburg Netherlands. Of course entrenched interests such as wealthy monasteries and collegiate chapters fought to protect their incomes and privileges even after the Spanish conquest of 1585. But, in fact, the bishops did consolidate their positions. They could directly supervise St. Jacob's and other parish churches through an encompassing legislation of rules and requirements that came down from Rome, the Archdiocese of Mechelen, and the Diocese of Antwerp. Every new institution, pastoral appointment, architectural element, relic, and indulgence required approval from the bishop. Heretics and Jews were suppressed. Anyone who sought political or economic advantage in Antwerp had no choice but to join in that established order. Inside the closed system of belief and signs it was indeed possible to exercise a degree of freedom or "agency." Catholics of every kind could practice the variety of devotions available to them that would meet their real spiritual needs.

The building and decorating of St. Jacob's over successive generations integrated parishioners into the fabric of the Catholic Church. During the 17th century it became a true spiritual home and a significant guide for understanding the world. The community joined together with greater cohesion as their church flowered into a beautiful and magnificent work. In that way the architecture, art, and sacred things of St. Jacob's were instrumental in effecting a fundamental change in society.

3 Marinus 1989, 42–46; Marinus 1995, 42–49; 42–46.

Documentation of Private Chapels in St. Jacob’s

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Administrators
Nave South, West to East		
1.		
St. Lucy and Pietà by 1532 ¹	Constructed 1503–7 ²	Satin Workers by 1533
Presentation of the Virgin		1546–49, altar and altar wardens of the Satin Workers
1595 also saints Mark and Lucy		Satin Workers
		1603–4 Bourat Workers
		1640 Caffa Workers
2.		
St. Anthony, also saints Paul the Hermit, St. Michael, and St. Lawrence (depicted in triptych by Marten de Vos)	Brotherhood of St. Anthony active by 1486. Chapel constructed 1503–7 ⁵	Brotherhood of St. Anthony from 1507 Chapel wardens active 1627, 1709–1786 ⁶ Tucher Family involvement from 1552 at latest, to eighteenth century ⁷

1 RAAKASJA 4811, Caffa-of zydestofwerkersambacht, ordonnantieboek, 1532–1730, Prims 1943, Thijs 1969, 62.

2 FAA PK 3194/6: E. Dilis: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren/ Kapel O.L.V. Presentatie – Satynwerkers, 1546–1549: autaar en autaarmeesters van de satynwerkers.

3 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 9–10bis.

4 RAA Provinciaal Archief A 115: 1: f.1v.

5 For the Brotherhood see below, Appendix 2, no. 1; for construction see above, chapter 1.

6 Chapel wardens identified in baluster inscriptions; chapel wardens keep accounts 1709–1786 in RAAKASJA B.31, f.46r.–f.125v.

7 RAAKASJA 56, f.96r.: Beginsel ende Voortsganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen: “Anno 1552. is begraven in de Cappelle van den H. Antonius Hr Ambrosius Tucher Ridder stierf 12 Feb.1552 ende syne huijsvrouw Maria Ursel . . . de w: aldaer geven hebben de gelasen

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Wooden retable (sold 1804) Triptych by Marten de Vos, 1595 now in Three Kings Chapel ³	Bronze balusters of the fence with donor inscriptions 1628 Confessional ⁴	Nov. 21
Triptych by Marten de Vos, reduced in 1785 to center panel, adapted with a stucco curtain by sculptor Michiel van de Voort the Younger to the marble portico altar frame acquired from the Victorinnen Convent ⁸	Bronze balusters of fence with donor inscriptions, 1626–7; sixteenth- century stained glass window of Ambrosius Tucher (d.1552) and Marie van Urssel(d.1601), replaced by 1844; tomb stone of the same couple; confessional; 1681 reliquary bust of St. Anthony by Jacob van Uytrecht ⁹	Jan. 17

venster ende beset gedaen tot des selfs onderhoudt." RAAKASJA R.15, Kerkrekening, 1741, f.149r.-v., account of foundation bequeathed by Baltina Tucher douariere of Heere de Sancta Croux heere van Bortmeerbeke according to her testament at Mechelen, Dec. 20, 1729: for a year interest on investment of 20,000 guilders capital attached to the property of the Duke of Aerschot: 700, with other sources of income comes to sum of: 4,035–1; used for music, priests, payment for candles and ornaments in a daily mass in the St. Anthony Chapel.

8 Chapel expenditures for the new altar including 35 guilders 16 stuivers "aen vervoort beelt-houwer"; RAAKASJA B.31, f.124v.-125v.: Jan. 1785–Jan. 1786, chapel income: including 350 from the church to acquire the new altar.

9 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 17–18: Jacobus van Uytrecht was paid 12 guilders 10 stivers. Relics were handed over to the chapel on Jan. 16, 1682, given by Father Carolus van Arenberg, formerly commissary general of the Capuchin order.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
3. St. Roch, St. Genoveva, St. Bavo, Constructed St. Francis, St. Fiacre ¹⁰ (latest 1503–7 ¹¹ 1563, but probably by c.1520) St. Roch 1648.		Altar wardens and guild of the altar (1563); chapel wardens 1648; Alexander Baltasar Roelants director and patron of the chapel with burial rights for himself, his family, and descendants 1657 Brotherhood of St. Roch 1658. ¹²
4. St. Job, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Cecilia	Constructed 1503–7	1519 St. Job Street Musicians Guild took responsibility for decoration 1540 at latest Van de Werve family associated with the chapel as their place of burial

10 As described in letter by King Philip II, May 4, 1563, to the “autaermeesters ende die ouders van der gulden des autær” of the saints listed: RAAKASJA, B.48/1.

11 For construction, see above, chapter 1.

12 For 1563 see note 10 above; RAAKASJA B.49, account book of the St. Roch Chapel, f.1, pastor Franciscus van den Bossche “vernieuwt” (renews) the book and appoints chapel wardens as administrators, July 1648; RAAKASJA B.48/6, Sept. 28, 1657, churchwardens appoint Roelants as “hooftman ende patroon” of the chapel. For the brotherhood, see below, Appendix 2, no. 4.

13 For the twelve panels see Prims 1933; Muller 2000, 105–106. For the 1658–1660 retable see Muller 2000, 97–98.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Retable decorated with twelve panels narrating the life of St. Roch and shutter images of other saints, dated 1517	Last Judgment painted in grisaille on west wall c.1570	Aug. 16
Marble retable and image of St. Roch 1658–1660, altarpiece of St. Roch by Erasmus Quellinus the Younger 1660 ¹³	Enclosure balustrade built 1648 by Jan van Cruyce Reliquary bust of St. Roch ¹⁴	
c.1530, first retable paid for by Street Musicians, presumably destroyed in 1566 iconoclasm	Tombstone of Hendrick van de Werve (d.1540) and Heylwich van Cuyck (d.1571) ¹⁵	May 10
1571 altar paid for by Heylwich van Cuyck, widow of Hendrick van de Werve	Wall painting of Job on Dung Hill Serenaded by Musicians revealed under whitewash on left pillar enclosing the chapel	
1593 triptych of Mary Intoning the Magnificat in the center, Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalen in the	Enclosure balustrade built 1640 by Erasmus Quellinus the Elder ¹⁶ Stained glass window with Job on the Dunghill in place by 1602 and replaced in 1855 ¹⁷	

14 See De Clercq 2002 for The Last Judgment. For the enclosure balustrade, see RAAKASJA B.48/3; Van Damme 1989, 63–64. For the reliquary bust see Van Lerijs 1855, 63.

15 Spiessens 2002, 244–245.

16 Spiessens 238; Duverger v, 52: 1642, estate of Erasmus Quellinus the Elder: "Item de dickens van de speelmans sijn desen sterfhuyse schuldich ter saecken van den thuyngemaeckt in Sinte-Jacobskercke."

17 Spiessens 2002, 256–257.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
5. St. Anna, St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria	Keystone of vault set 1506–1506 Reconsecrated Nov. 9, 1587 Altar reconsecrated Sept. 3, 1650, by Gaspar Nemius, bishop of Antwerp ²¹	1621–1622 chapel wardens Chapel warden accounts 1680–1737 ²²

18 For c.1530 see Spiessens 2002, 230; for 1571 see RAAKASJA 56, f.97r.: Beginsel ende Voortganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen: 1540: Hendrick van der Werve is buried in the St. Job chapel. His wife died June 29, 1571, and she “aldaer geven heeft den Autaer”; for 1593–1605 see Spiessens 2002, 230–234, 237; for 1663 see Spiessens 2002, 239–242 and 254, transcript of the contract.

19 Spiessens 2002, 245–247.

20 Spiessens 2002, 242.

21 For keystone, see above chapter 1; for 1587, see FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/folder 25, St. Jacobskerk, Wijdingen van Kerk, Kapellen, altaren, Kruisweg enz.; for 1650, see ABA A.12: Acta episcopatus 1635–1656, f.113v.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Garden on left, St. Cecilia Playing the Organ on right when open, Job on the Dung Hill Scolded by His Wife in grisaille when closed, framed in 1605 by a wooden retable	Brass grave plaque of Niclaes van de Werve (1503) transferred to the chapel by 1728 ¹⁹	
1663 portico altar by sculptor Jacobus Couplet for 900 guilders with Magnificat center picture only and marble sculpture of Job on the Dung Hill above, side pictures removed ¹⁸	17th c. panel of Job on the Dung Heap for collection box; 18th c. portable wooden collection box; 18th c. Job on Dung Hill ²⁰	
Altar installed by 1513	Sixteenth-century wall paintings of architectural frameworks revealed behind and over altar and on south wall close to the altar	July 26
Altar retable with painting by the workshop of Frans Floris, St. Anna and Her Family	1615–1616 confessional installed ²³	
1643 portico altar with Floris panel as altarpiece, retable frame with sculpture of St. Catherine of	Marble enclosure now in situ constructed after 1663 to replace a high wooden fence ²⁴	

22 RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1621–1622, f.27r.; FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/22: St. Annakapel; in hand of Van Lerijs, extracts from "Rekeningen van Ste. Anna Kapel, te St. Jacobs, 1680–1737."

23 RAAKASJA R.7, Kerkrekening 1615–1616, f.39r.

24 On the basis of painting signed and dated 1663 that still shows the high wooden enclosure: see Baisier 2008, I, 116.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
6. St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist	Constructed 1503–1507 Altar reconsecrated 1566–1567 Reconsecrated Nov. 9, 1587	“Altar wardens” active 1566 Chapel wardens active 1647–1648 Canons of St. Jacob's collegiate chapter controlled chapel accounts in 1689 ²⁸

25 For 1513 see RAAKASJA (old number 560), 45; for the painting by Floris see Van de Velde the new altar frame is inscribed: DEO. OPT.MA/ ET B. MATRI ANNÆ/ SACRVM 1643.

26 Van Lerijs 1855, 73.

27 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/22: St. Annakapel; in hand of Van Lerijs, extracts from “Rekeningen van Ste. Anna Kapel, te St. Jacobs, 1680–1737.”

28 See FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: “Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij,” Kladrekening 1566/67; ASJA 52, Kerkrekening 1647–1648, f.25r.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Alexandria on left, St. Barbara on right, group of St. Anna, Virgin Mary , and Christ Child on pedestal above the pediment of the retable ²⁵	Reliquary in wood of St. Catherine of Alexandria, ornamented with the crown of the martyr, c.1753, by Franciscus Somers ²⁶	
	Prayer prints published annually 1680–1737 ²⁷	
C.1600 St. John the Baptist Baptizing Christ. This painting was set into the new portico altar completed 1689, paid for by a legacy from Anna Leijssens, widow of Stephanus van der Kelen. Above in the pediment niche, the life-size marble figure of St. John the Evangelist holding the poisoned chalice, the eagle at his feet, and two adoring angels on the sides. The lamb of God crowns the pediment. A permanent, carved antependium depicts St. John the Baptist and Christ as children playing. The sculptures are attributed convincingly to Ludovicus Willemsens ²⁹	High wooden enclosure replaced c.1652 by marble enclosure in conformance with the dimensions of the other enclosures along the aisle ³⁰	June 24 (Baptist)

29 RAAKASJA 2798, Acta capituli, 331, for record of the request from the chapel wardens to the bishop of Antwerp for permission to use the legacy of 300 guilders to complete the altar. Van Lerius 1855, 75, attributed the sculptures to Willemsens.

30 Baisier 2008, I, 151, and II, 382–383, bijlage 26, request of Jun. 15, 1652, submitted and approved from the chapel wardens to the Antwerp Magistracy, asking permission to use the capital and interest of a city bond belonging to the chapel, to help pay for the new marble enclosure and improvements already completed in the chapel: FAA PK 751 (1652–1653), f.33v.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
Nave North, West to East		
7. Saints Gertrudis (against mice and rats), Philip, James, Leonard, and Gomarus (in 1595); in 1798 labeled the Chapel of the Trinity	1503–1504 St. Gertrudis altar recorded Chapel constructed by 1515 Altar reconsecrated 1566–1567 Reconsecrated 1595 Altar to St. Gertrudis demolished and sold 1804 ³¹	Altar wardens active in 1566–1567 Chapel wardens active 1763 compensated for expenses on account of the chapel's low income ³²
8. Sweet Name of Jesus, Saints Joseph, Ambrosius, and Gislenus	Sweet Name altar granted indulgence in 1510 to those who aid in ornamenting the altar ³⁴	Churchwardens responsible in 1510 Chapel wardens in 1730 ³⁵

31 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 6–7 for 1503–1504; FAA,PK 3194; Dilis collection: “Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij,” 141, for 1566–1567; RAAKASJA (old number 560), bylage 80, for 1595.

32 See above, n.31, Dilis for 1566–1567; RAAKASJA R.16, f.342v., for 1763.

33 See Molanus 1771, 266–268, on the meaning of rodents in pictures of Gertrudis; FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/6: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren/, on paintings.

34 RAAKASJA 1201.

35 Génard 1863, S. Jacobs, 289, “Adriaen van Cuyck, “Cappelmeester” In 1730 zegt de voetnota onder eene schildery de Verwekking van Lazarus, weg genomen na de heropening der Kerk.”

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Two paintings of St. Gertrudis at the side of the altar, one depicting mice running up and down her staff ³³	Marble enclosure with brass balusters bearing donor inscriptions 1625–1627	March 17
In 1798 an altarpiece of The Trinity ornamented a wooden altar		
Altarpiece of All Saints Worshiping the Holy Name, attributed to Marten de Vos, c.1595 Altar retable, likely constructed c.1656, crowned by images of saints Joseph and Cornelius, with Christ Child as Savior of the World in the middle ³⁶	Epitaph of Cornelis Lantschot by Sebastian van den Eynden, framing painted portrait, 1660 ³⁷ Stained glass window depicting The Circumcision of Christ, donated 1677 by Arnould van den Bende in memory of his father Gommarus and of his mother Émérence van Lier ³⁸	Jan. 1

36 The convincing date of the retable was suggested to me by Valérie Herremans, based on comparison with the Our Lady retable made 1658 by Hubertus van den Eynde for the St. Niklaas Church in St. Nicolaas (Herremans 2006–2007, vol. v., cat. no. 191) and with the retable for the altar of Saints Peter and Paul in St. Jacobs, Antwerp, executed by Sebastian van den Eynden c.1655 (Herremans 2006–2007, vol. v, cat. no. 181). This date contradicts the earlier attribution of the sculptures to the non-existent “Andries Colyns de Nole the Younger” (Van Lierius 1855, 166–167), and of the St. Cornelius to the workshop of Robrecht and Andries de Nole (Casteels 1961, 195). The introduction of St. Cornelius suggests a connection with Cornelis van Lantschot’s patronage of the chapel.

37 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 631, Van Lierius transcription from account of the estate of Cornelis van Lantschot, records May 26, 1660, payment to Sebastian van den Eynden for epitaph of Van Lantschot.

38 Van Lierius 1855, 167.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Administrators
9. Three Kings and St. Simon	Altar of Three Kings recorded 1536–1537	Altar wardens of the Sawyers Guild recorded 1546–1547. ⁴² Location of the altar however is uncertain
	Altar of Sawyers Guild located in this chapel 1554–1555 ³⁹	Chapel warden of the Sawyers Guild active in 1617 ⁴³
	Altar of Three Kings located in front of the choir screen in 1605–1606 ⁴⁰	
	Altar of Three Kings located in this chapel by 1617 at the latest ⁴¹	

39 Van Lerijs 1855, 163.

40 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1605–1606, f.40r., payment for green balustrade in front of this altar.

41 FAA N.3371, Minutes of notary Hans van Cantelbeeck, contract between Sawyers Guild and joiners Otmaer van Ommen and Jan van Supploy for a new altar retable, April 26, 1617 (transcription by J. van den Nieuwenhuizen).

42 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/6: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren/ Kapel en autaar der zagers.

43 As in the contract cited above, n.41.

44 RAAKASJA R.7., Kerkrekening 1605–1606, f.51v., f.56v.; Kerkrekening 1607–1608, f.39v., for payments to Snellinck. This triptych has not been identified.

45 As in the contract cited above, n.41.

46 Werche 2004, I, 220, no. B 4, without knowledge of the 1617 contract for the retable, convincingly notes similarities between elements of the triptych and a drawing of *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, signed and dated by Van Balen to 1617.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Altarpiece of the Three Kings in front of the choir screen by 1605–1606 when Jan Snellinck was commissioned to replace an older picture by painting a triptych with three predella panels that was installed in 1608 ⁴⁴	An epitaph triptych attributed to A. de Rijker with The Crucifixion in the center, donor Jan Doncker (d.1591) on the left, and Magdalena Hockaert on the right (d.1611), St. John the Baptist on the outside left shutter, St. Mary Magdalen on the outside right shutter,	Jan. 6 (Epiphany) Oct. 28 (St. Simon)
In 1617 the Sawyers Guild commissioned Otmaer van Ommen and Jan van Supploy, “joiners and sculptors,” to make a new altar that would follow the dimensions of the old altar still in place and use its images. ⁴⁵ It is likely that, soon after that date, Hendrik van Balen painted the triptych of the The Adoration of the Magi framed by the retable ⁴⁶	was recorded in the chapel by the eighteenth century. Only the two wings survive ⁴⁷ Marble enclosure donated in 1668 by Joan Baptist Huart and Clara Rijsheuvels who also built their burial crypt under the chapel, following the burial their of their son Daniel Huart (d.1677), first occupant of the prebend founded in 1657 by his parents in St. Jacobs' collegiate chapter of canons ⁴⁸	

47 Van Lerijs (who made the attribution) 1855, 164–165; the triptych is described in RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. In fo. Tafel (latest date of monument recorded 1770), 117–118: in sacello 3 magorum e regione altaris muro affixa conspiciatur tabula Christum e cruce pendetem inter duos latrones repaesentans ac magdalenam Christi pedes amplectentem, stipata suis protis seu januis in quarum alterutra effigies viri ac conjugis cum respective gentilitiis coloribus deliniantur ac litteris deauratis haec legitur inscriptio: for Jan Doncker and Magdalena Hockart. Late in the 18th century Mols described the Crucifixion triptych as the altarpiece of the chapel, in De Wit 1910, 43, and n.7 to ground plan 4.

48 RAAKASJA 1095, account for the marble enclosure; RAAKASJA 57, 122–123; FAA K 316: Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuatoris Anndi 1746, 42.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
10. Saints Peter and Paul and St. Dymphna (Dimpna) of Geel, patroness of those ill in mind	1446, altar dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul recorded in the hospice chapel that preceded St. Jacobs ⁴⁹ 1500–1501 altar to St. Dymphna recorded in St. Jacob's ⁵⁰	Oct. 28, 1515, the churchwardens cede control of the Chapel of Saints Peter, Paul, and Dymphna to Adrian Rockox, Kathlyne van Overhof, and their descendants, on condition that the directors of the Guild of St. Dymphna will be granted access to the altar that they will continue to maintain ⁵¹ After the death of Nicolaas Rockox in 1640, the directors of the charitable foundation he endowed administered the chapel ⁵²

49 Van Lerijs 1855, 158.
50 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/6: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren/ Chapel of Sts. Peter, Paul, and Dymphna, 5.
51 RAAKASJA 1094.
52 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 599–601, 601bis, Van Lerijs transcriptions.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Documents refer to an altar of St. Dymphna maintained in 1515, to a "beautiful altarpiece and other ornaments" that decorated the chapel c.1660. Given the saints included on the shutters when closed, it is possible that Van Hemessen's epitaph triptych for the Rockox family functioned as the altarpiece until replaced in 1744. The present retable, executed by joiner Franciscus Jordaens and sculptor Willem Slavon, replaced the older retable in 1744. ⁵³ This new retable in wood painted to look like stone and marble, depicts St. Dymphna as martyr lifted on clouds to heaven, looking upwards at a glory of angels surrounding a radiant triangle symbol of the Trinity. Busts of Peter and Paul are displayed in the relief panel over the altar table. It therefore repeats the iconography of the closed shutters on Van Hemessen's triptych	<p>The great triptych of The Last Judgement painted c.1538 by Jan Sanders van Hemessen to serve as the grave monument of Adrian Rockox, Katlyne van Overhof, and their children. When closed, the shutters depict the Trinity with Christ as Man of Sorrows blessed by God the Father, along with Saints Peter and Paul in the left wing, saints Margaret of Antioch and Dymphna in the right</p> <p>Six paintings, dating to the mid-seventeenth century, depicting the life of St. Dymphna stood in the chapel by 1798. They supplemented the image of the saint on the altar retable. Removed from the chapel after 1841, they are still part of St. Jacob's property.⁵⁴ The marble balustrade fence separating the chapel from the aisle was built some time after 1660⁵⁵</p>	May 15

⁵³ See above, n.52.

⁵⁴ RAA: Provinciaal Archief: A: 115/1, f.6r.; Van Lerijs 1855, 162; KIK no.61651 for all six paintings, inv.no. 608.

⁵⁵ RAAKASJA (old number) 560, 599–601.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
11. All Saints/ St. Hubert/ St. Christopher/ St. Matthew	Peat Carriers Guild altar recorded in St. Jacobs 1519 ⁵⁶	The Peat Carriers Guild administered this chapel.
		Altar wardens recorded 1566–1567
	Altar of St. Hubert recorded in St. Jacob's 1535–1536 ⁵⁷	Chapel warden recorded in 1632–1633 ⁶¹
	Peat Carriers altar consecrated after iconoclasm 1566–1567 ⁵⁸	It has been suggested that a confraternity dedicated to St. Hubert accounts for the images of that saint in the chapel, but no documentation confirms the existence of such a confraternity. ⁶² In any case the Peat Carriers Guild took responsibility for
	Peat Carriers begin repair of their altar in 1586 ⁵⁹	masses on the feast days of All Saints, St. Matthew, and St. Hubert by 1609–1611 ⁶³
	Indication that the altar was consecrated 1592 ⁶⁰	

⁵⁶ Prims 1923, 29.

⁵⁷ FAA PK 3194: Dilis: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren, St. Hubertus autaar uittrecksels, bl.42, 1535–1536.

⁵⁸ FAA, PK 3194: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij." folder 1, In Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope, Bl.140, Kladrekening 1566/67.

⁵⁹ Prims 1923, 120.

⁶⁰ RAAKASJA 56, Beginsel ende Voortganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen, f.82. account of the renewal of the Torfdragers altar in 1592; Herremans 2007, IV, cat. no. 4.

⁶¹ Prims 1923, 212.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
In 1606 officers of the Joiners Guild attested to the quality of the panels and shutters of the retable ⁶⁴	The stained glass window with a Last Supper above and portraits of the donors Judocus Draeck (d.1528) and Barbe Colibrant (d.1538) kneeling below, is one of the few major works in St. Jacob's to survive iconoclasm. The carved gravestone of this couple in the chapel floor depicts them laid out in repose ⁶⁵	Nov. 1 Nov. 3 (Hubert)
The retable carved in wood, contains a triptych attributed to Ambrosius Francken the Elder, dated 1608, depicting, when open, The Calling of St. Matthew (left), All Saints Worshipping the Trinity and the Virgin Mary (center), and St. Hubert Kneeling Before the Miraculous Stag (right), and when closed, in grisaille, St. Matthew and the Angel on the left, St. Hubert as Bishop on the right. In the predella three separate panels show two guild members and their chaplain on the left and two guild members on the right who turn prayerful attention towards a crucifixion in the center, in which Mary Magdalen kneels and embraces the foot	An inventory of 1610 lists an abundant repertoire of liturgical ornaments and also, paintings of The Birth of the Virgin and St. Hubert, a case with an image of Mary and two saints, a wooden image of St. Christopher, a small altar with a crucifixion, a second small altar with two female figures, thus a rich decoration in addition to the altar retable ⁶⁶	

62 Herremans 2007, IV, cat. no. 4.

63 Prims 1923, 171.

64 FAA, A.4360.

65 RAAKASJA 2641, Wapenboek der Kerk, Gekend onder den Naem van Sepultuerboek in de Rekening van 1706, 37.8 × 23.6 cm., on parchment, f.71r., drawing in water colors; Génard 1863, 270: recorded as moved to the foot of the altar in the Sweet Name of Jesus Name Chapel, illustrated by a fine lithograph in blue after the drawing in the sepulcher book, with meter scale.

66 Prims 1923, 175.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
12. St. Andrew Chapel later known as the Holy Cross Chapel ⁷²	Holy Cross Altar foundation affiliated in 1480, with St. Jacob's; Holy Cross Altar in the church 1505–1506. ⁷³ Altar consecrated 1566–1567 after the iconoclasm ⁷⁴	Altar wardens recorded in 1566–1567 Chapel wardens in charge by 1593–1594, remain in place ⁷⁵

67 Prims 1923, 157, suggests that the portraits on the left depict Geeraert Wirycx and Symon Symons, deans of the guild in 1608, and chaplain Steven van den Kerckhove. The two men portrayed on the right are identified as two major donors to the cost of the retable, Peeter van Mechelen and Peeter Vinck.

68 For the attribution see Casteels 1961, 196, who strongly rejects earlier attributions to Robrecht and Jan De Nole; Herremans 2007, IV, cat. no. 4, opens the question of whether the sculptures formed part of the original decoration.

69 Prims 1923, 213.

70 Prims 1923, 229.

71 In 1630 brass caster Guiliam Pluymmaker was paid for five new candlesticks to set on the “tuin,” indicating the kind of high, wooden enclosure decorated in other instances with this kind of ornament (Prims 1923, 206). In 1655 the churchwardens recognized the generosity Jan Bollaert showed in building a chapel by granting him the privilege of sitting for the rest of his life in the pew in front of the St. Christopher Chapel, until the construction of a “maremeren thuyn (marble enclosure)” for that chapel (RAAKASJA (old number 560), 65e bijlage); and in 1662 a record was made of renting this pew to Bollaert (RAAKASJA R.10., Kerkrekening 1662, f.7v.).

72 RAAKASJA 57, Beginsel ende Voortsganck van St. Jacobs Kercke binnen Antwerpen, f.44r: 1628: reference to “St. Andries Autaer nu genaemt van’t H. Cruys.”

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
of the cross. ⁶⁷ Three polychrome wooden images (attribution uncertain) crown the top: St. Matthew and the Angel on the left, St. Christopher much larger in the center, and St. Hubert as Bishop on the right ⁶⁸	Periodic commission for engraving and printing images of All Saints and St. Hubert starting 1640–1641. ⁷⁰ The marble balustrade fence dates to some time after 1662, probably replacing a higher, wooden enclosure ⁷¹	
The altar literally was raised higher in 1633–1634 ⁶⁹		
Altarpiece signed and dated, Wenslavs Cobergher F 1605, depicts St. Helena Holding the True Cross, venerated by St. Longinus, the Emperor Constantine, and other saints, with likely portraits of the donors Judocus Robyns, lord of Borgerhout and Drossard (bailiff) of Antwerp, and his wife Elisabeth van Dornhoven. ⁷⁷ The white and black marble	The marble fence enclosing the chapel dates to between 1623 and 1648, when the fence served as the model for the newly commissioned fence of the St. Roch Chapel ⁷⁶	May 3 (finding of the Cross)

73 FAA PK 3194, E. Dilis, extracts from the kerkrekeningen, St. Jacob's/6: Over verschillende kleine Kapellen en Autaren/Kapel H. Kruis.

74 FAA PK 3194/1: Dilis collection: "Uittreksels Rekeningen van S. Jacobskerk door T. van Lerijs rakende De Beeldstormerij," in Dilis's hand, stack of notes inserted in an envelope: Bl.141. Kladr.1566/67.

75 See above, n.74, for 1566–1567; RAAKASJA R.6., Kerkrekening 1593–1594, f.47r, chapel wardens of the Holy Cross pay for a glass window in the chapel; RAAKASJA 1092, Feb. 7, 1605, receipt by four chapel wardens of 50 guilders from estate of Andries Berchmans, grave digger in St. Jacobs, towards payment for the new altarpiece painting; repeated references in the St. Jacob's annual accounts.

76 Anna van den Dale, widow of Paulus van Gemert left a gift in 1623 of 100 guilders for the chapel fence, RAAKASJA 1415; for the St. Roch fence, see above, n. 14.

77 The donors are identified in a painted inscription above the altar table that copied a stone inscription demolished in 1807 (Van Lerijs 1855, 153). Robyns also is identified as the donor of the picture in the receipt he signed for the 50 guilders donated by Andries Berchmans (see n.75, above). Robyns noted that the money would be used for some other ornament in the chapel, and not for the altarpiece, "which I hope, with God's grace, to pay for alone" (. . . dewelcke ick verhoppe met Goidts gratie alleen te becostenigen.): RAAKASJA 1092, Feb. 7, 1605.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Administrators
Ambulatory South to North		
13. St. Ildefonso	Chapel built 1626. ⁷⁹ Chapel demolished 1664 to allow for expansion of the Holy Sacrament Chapel ⁸⁰	Controlled by Alonso Carillo, the founder and, after his death, by his nephew Pedro Carillo ⁸¹

78 KIK St. Jacob's, no. 30; Herremans 2006–2007, v, cat. no. 230.

79 RAAKASJA 1004, 1626 outline of the agreement; RAAKASJA 1005, Jan. 22, 1626, agreement with the Antwerp Magistracy, “schepenbrief,” signed by Alonso Carillo, two aldermen, St. Jacob's two upper- and four-serving churchwardens, granting permission and setting conditions for building the Carillo Chapel; FAA PK 3196, E. Dilis Nota's betreffende Sint-Jacobskerk, summarizes contract of Jan. 23, 1626, between St. Jacobs churchwardens, Lucas Van Breda, mason, Hendrick Janssen, carpenter, and Jacques Des Enfants, stone cutter, for construction of the Carillo chapel within five months, for the total cost of 3,420 guilders.

80 RAAKASJA 1013.

81 See above, n.79 and n.80.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
<p>retable now in place is dated 1665 on the basis of an inscription. It is ornamented with three reliefs above the altar and below the painting representing from left to right, the Virgin of Sorrows in profile pierced by a sword, implements of Christ's passion, and St. John the Evangelist in profile. Above the painting two angels display Veronica's veil. Four angels surmount the pediment that is crowned by a black marble cross⁷⁸</p>		
<p>A marble retable framed an altarpiece painting of St. Idefonso⁸²</p>	<p>Alonso Carillo's coats of arms were painted on the vault of his chapel⁸³</p>	<p>Jan. 23</p>

82 RAAKASJA B.8, *Rekening Boek Vande Capelle ende Gulde vanden Eer: Heylighen Sacramente: 1621–1622–1691–1692*, account for 1664–1665, f.146v.: 480 guilders received for the marble altar that stood in the Carillo Chapel; RAAKASJA B.13, *Memorie Boeck/ Van de cappel van het heyligh/ Sacrament/ . . . tot desen tegen wordighen Iaere Ao 1673; f.24r: 25*. Foundation of Philips Moermans.1687, has “op synen costge doen maecken het autaar stuck inde voors. Cappelle van het venerabel representerende de historie vanden Keyser Constntinus daer by gevoecht den H. Ildefonsus met het wapen vanden heere Carillo,” this in fulfillment of the condition that the Blessed Sacrament Chapel always would keep the Carillo Chapel's dedication to the founder's patron saint Ildefonso, and include a representation of that saint in any new altarpiece. The altarpiece proposed by Moermans never was executed.

83 R.8., *Kerkrekening 1625–1626*, f.21v., payment for a large sail to veil the new chapel before it was opened; payment for two coats of arms on the vault “in de capelle van Sr. Carillo.”

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Adminstrators
14. Trinity	The Trinity Chapel was constructed starting 1632 ⁸⁴	Founded by Susanna Scholiers, widow of David de Lange, in 1632. ⁸⁵ Inherited by the Van Lemens family ⁸⁶
15. St. Ivo and, perhaps, St. Lawrence ⁸⁸	The St. Ivo Chapel was constructed 1636–1638 ⁸⁹	Controlled by Laurentius Biel and Catharina de Gavarelle, the founders (Biel d. Dec. 19, 1641), and by their descendants ⁹⁰ Shared starting in 1638, at Biel's consent, with the Confraternity of St. Ivo, the brotherhood of Antwerp's legal profession ⁹⁴

84 FAA PK 732 (1632), f.104v., Feb. 28, 1632, churchwardens of St Jacobs request permission to build the second chapel in the south ambulatory with support given by Susanna Scholiers: cited in Baisier 2008, I, 110, n.499.

85 See above, n. 84; Van Lerius 1855, 108, made this assumption based on the tomb stone in the chapel ornamented with the couple's coat of arms; also see RAAKASJA 2641, Wapenboek der Kerk, Gekend onder den Naem van Sepultuerboek in de Rekening van 1706, 37.8 × 23.6 cm., on parchment, f.62r.: coats of arms: Susanna Scholiers/ David De Lange, in a list proceeding chapel by chapel around the ambulatory. Further, De Lange and his widow were active supporters of St. Jacobs in the years prior to construction of the chapel: RAAKASJA R.8., Kerkrekening 1627–1628, f.1v., widow of David De Lange contributes 100 guilders.

86 RAAKASJA R.9., Kerkrekening 1635–1636, widow Lemens makes a contribution; R.14., Kerkrekening 1725, contributions from the chapels to paint the church include, from the chapels in the ambulatory, Jouffr. van Lemens, 10 guilders and 10 stuivers.

87 Werche 2004, I, 219, cat. no. B 3.

88 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae, 21: Redeamus ad ambitum, ubi Sacello s.S. Trinitatis versus orientem contiguum est aliud Do Ivoni/ theatre sacré dicit

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
A marble retable frames the altarpiece depicting the Trinity in Glory, with Christ and God the Father resting their feet on a globe of the earth, painted by Hendrik van Balen ⁸⁷	A fence was built in red, black, and white marble to agree with the colors of the altar retable	8th day after Pentecost, thus late May-mid June
Marble altar retable, attributed to Andries de Nole, with its altarpiece painted by Gerard Seghers depicting St. Ivo as Legal Advocate for Orphans, Widows, and the Poor. ⁹¹ The white marble antependium of angel heads, grape vines, and roses surrounding a radiant disk imprinted with the initials of Christ (IHS, a cross, and a flaming heart (perhaps originally set over liturgically appropriate grounds of colored cloth); the white marble relief of the Crucifixion with the Biel coat of arms	The wooden pew on the west wall facing the altar and the marble fence were part of the original decoration, the latter designed in conformance with the fences of the St. Ildefonso and Trinity chapels ⁹²	May 19 ⁹³

pag. 70 Do Laurentio) sacrum," referring to *Le Grand theatre sacré du duché de Brabant* 1734.

89 RAAKASJA 1044, Mar. 8, 1636, church wardens of St. Jacobs request permission from the Antwerp Magistracy to write a contract with Laurentius Biel for construction of the "third chapel on the south side of the ambulatory of the choir "(...de derde cappelle aen de suytzyde van den omloop van den choir..."); RAAKASJA 53, 332, April 26, 1636, Laurentius Biel requests permission from the deans and chapter of the Cathedral to build the chapel; 333, May, 2, 1636, Laurentius Biel requests permission from the bishop of Antwerp to build the chapel; 327–330, July 3, 1636, the Antwerp Magistracy sets the conditions for construction of the chapel; the chapel was dedicated on April 7, 1638 (see Geudens 1902, 9).

90 See above, n.89; on Nov. 12, 1698, Frans-Marie Biel, grandson of the founders, confirmed his responsibility for foundation of an eternal daily mass in the chapel, and also for maintenance of its ornaments (Jacobs 1916, 60–61).

91 Van Lierus 1855, 109, made the attribution to De Nole.

92 RAAKASJA 53, 327–330, set these conditions.

93 The feast day celebrated by the Confraternity of St. Ivo: see Jacobs 1916, 72.

94 Geudens 1902, 24–25.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Administrators
16. To the Memory and Exaltation of the Glorious Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ ⁹⁶	The Resurrection Chapel was constructed 1642–1649 ⁹⁷	Controlled by the founder Jan Vincque, and his descendants. Inherited by Ludovicus Le Candele (d.1691) who had married Catherina Vincque (d.1718), and controlled by the Le Candele family ⁹⁸

95 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegia-
tae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae, 21, credits Scheemaeker's work
to the munificence of the Zumallo family. But the Biel arms carved on the Crucifixion
relief make this unlikely (Jacobs 1916, 62). The possibility of colored cloth grounds set
underneath the open scrollwork of the antependium is indicated by the red ground in the
colored drawing of the altar retable included in RAAKASJA 2641, Wapenboek der Kerk,
Gekend onder den Naem van Sepultuerboek in de Rekening van 1706, 37.8 × 23.6 cm., on
parchment, f.50v. (drawing by Jan Claudius de Cock, fig. 8.45 above). A possible design
drawing for the retable survives (Antwerp, Prentenkabinet, Inv. Nr. OT1562; reproduced in
Becker 1990, Abb.55; Herremans 2006–2007, III, Afb.93; fig. 8.44 above).

96 ABA A.12, Acta episcopatus 1635–1656, f.95, record of the bishop's consecration of the
chapel on Dec. 1, 1649, "... ad memoriam et exaltationem gloriosissimae Resurrectionis
Domini nostri Jesu Christi ..."

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
<p>above the altar table; the four marble angel candle bearers kneeling on the altar, all were carved by Pieter Scheemaekers the Elder, who signed and dated the Crucifixion relief to 1700⁹⁵</p>		
<p>Stone portico retable finished by 1649, containing the altarpiece by Gerard Seghers depicting Christ Resurrected Appearing to the Virgin Mary and Accompanied by Angels. Starting in 1715 the Le Candele family commissioned further ornaments for the retable from Michiel van der Voort the Elder. In 1716 Van der Voort carved the Virgin and</p>	<p>Marble enclosure fence and wooden pew built by 1649⁹⁹</p> <p>Epitaph monument of Ludovicus Le Candele and Catharina Vincque, attributed to Artus Quellinus the Younger, surmounted by a bust of Christ with the Crown of Thorns and two grieving angels¹⁰⁰</p>	Easter

97 RAAKASJA 53, 395–398, June 14, 1642, agreement between St. Jacobs' churchwardens and Jan Vincque (Vincke) on construction of the chapel; for the consecration in 1649, see above, n.96.

98 Van Lerijs 1855, 114; RAAKASJA R.14, Kerkrekening 1725, f.7r.; RAAKASJA R.16, Kerkrekening 1761, f.267; RAAKASJA 1061, transcriptions by Théodore van Lerijs "uyt de boeken gezegde familien berustende onder joncker Ludovicus Le Candele. Notaten op de kapel der familie Vincque, hedendags/1847/ toebehoorende aen de familie Le Candele."

99 As stipulated in the agreement between the churchwardens and Jan Vincque (see above, n.97).

100 Van Lerijs 1855, 115, made the attribution to Quellinus the Younger; KIK Nr.C545 suggests Guiliam Kerricx the Elder in addition to Quellinus.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Administrators
17. Virgin Mary	Chapel constructed 1642–1650 ¹⁰⁴	Controlled by heirs and descendants of Peter Paul Rubens, including prominently the Van Parijs family ¹⁰⁵ In 1761 St. Jacobs’ churchwardens were appointed to manage the foundations for masses established in the chapel ¹⁰⁶

101 Tralbaut 1950, 162–171.

102 Tralbaut 1950, 268–273.

103 For the terminus ante quem of the retable and altarpiece see above, n.96; Herremans 2006–2007, IV, 103; for the dates of Van der Voort’s additional sculptures see RAAKASJA 1061, Van Lerijs transcriptions “uyt de boeken gezegde familien berustende onder joncker Ludovicus Le Candele/ Notaten op de kapel der familie Vincque, hedendags/1847/ toebehoorende aen de familie Le Candele.,” Tralbaut 1950, 135–141 on the four marble reliefs; 141–142, on Van der Voort’s working drawing for the project, with measurements of the extant retable (now Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv.1455); 142–144, on the Virgin and Child; 185–191, on Godhead and Innocence; For Godhead’s inscription see KIK cliché B43272.

104 RAAKASJA 1063; FAA Schepenregister 670, f.168r.–169v., Söding 1986, 277–279, March 14, 1642, agreement approved by Antwerp Magistracy and the bishop of Antwerp between Franciscus van den Bossche, pastor of St. Jacobs, the churchwardens of St. Jacobs, and

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Child that crown the pediment. The same sculptor executed the personifications of The Godhead (holding inscription: Ego Sum Qui Sum) on the left side of the pediment, and of Innocence on the right, 1720–1721. In 1720 Van der Voort executed four bas-reliefs to insert over the altar table, representing from left to right Faith, Christ and Doubting Thomas, Christ and His Disciples on the Way to Emmaus, Hope ¹⁰³	Epitaph monument of Anna Maria, Joannes, and Nicolas Vincque, designed and executed by Michiel van der Voort the Elder 1718–1719, with a group of Christ Tied to the Column of the Flagellation. ¹⁰¹ Epitaph monument of Ludovicus Le Candele the Younger (d.1729), by Michiel van der Voort the Elder, with a grieving angel above and a bas-relief of The Raising of Lazarus ¹⁰²	
Marble retable completed in 1650, most likely by Cornelis van Mildert, framing the altarpiece by Peter Paul Rubens depicting The Virgin Holding the Christ Child in Her Arms, Surrounded by saints. In the niche above, stands a white marble image, attributed to Lucas Fayd'herbe, of The Virgin of Sorrows with a Sword Piercing Her Heart. The two angels on the pediment holding a crown over her head identify her also as Queen of Heaven ¹⁰⁹	Marble enclosure fence built with the chapel The epitaph monument of Albert Rubens and Clara del Monte was carved by Cornelis van Mildert in 1657 ¹⁰⁷ In 1755 J.B. Jacobus van Parijs, canon in St. Jacobs' collegiate chapter, paid to repave the chapel and erect new inscriptions ¹⁰⁸	

the heirs of Peter Paul Rubens, to build the chapel. A stone for the altar table was finished in 1650 by sculptor Cornelis van Mildert, indicating the date of completion and consecration: see Van Lerius 1855, 117.

105 For Rubens see above, n.104; for Van Parijs see RAAKASJA R.14., Kerkrekening 1725, f.7r.; RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae, 27.

106 RAAKASJA 1778.

107 Söding 1986, 36.

108 RAAKASJA 2642, Monumenta Epitaphia et Inscriptiones sepulchrales insignis collegiatae parochialis Ecclesiae Divi Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae, 27.

109 For the attribution of the retable to Van Mildert see Söding 1986, 44–46; Herremans 2006–2007, v, cat. No. 138. For Rubens's picture, see Söding 1986. For the attribution of the image of The Virgin of Sorrows see Söding 1986, 71–86; for a positive attribution to Fayd'herbe, see Van Riet and Kockelbergh 1997, 32–33.

Table (cont.)

Dedication	Key Dates	Owners/ Administrators
18. St. Charles Borromeo	Chapel completed between 1651 and 1656 ¹¹⁰	Controlled by the founders Jacobo (Jacom) Antonio Carena, lord of Swyndrecht and Borgh, and his wife Miriam Annoni, and their descendants ¹¹¹
19. Sts. Peter and Paul	Chapel completed by 1655 ¹¹³	Controlled by the founders Jan Bollaert, lord of Over and Neder Heembeke, and his wife Susanna de Sant-Estevan. Apparently by 1725 the family no longer actively supported the chapel ¹¹⁴
20. Visitation	Chapel constructed starting 1636 and consecrated Mar. 31, 1640 ¹¹⁷	Controlled by the heirs of Franco Lopez Franco ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ RAAKASJA 1065, April 4, 1651, churchwardens of St. Jacobs request that the Magistracy of Antwerp exempt Jacomo Antonio Carena and his son from all billeting that citizens of the city usually are subject to, on account of the great service offered in completing the ambulatory with the proposed chapel; RAAKASJA (old number 560), 64e bijlage, Feb. 19, 1656, St. Jacobs churchwardens attest to the conditions fulfilled under which Jacomo Carena gains ownership and privileges of his chapel.

¹¹¹ FAA K 316, *Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuoris Anni 1746, 39.

¹¹² Van Lierus 1855, 125–126, notes that a lost image of Christ as Salvator mundi crowned the retable in the niche. Herremans 2006–2007, v, cat. No. 185, observes the later date of the image of Christ as Salvator Mundi now ensconced in the niche.

¹¹³ RAAKASJA (old number 560), 65e bijlage, transcription of declaration by St. Jacob's churchwardens, Feb. 21, 1655, granting privileges to Jan Bollaert in recognition of the generosity he has shown by building his chapel.

Altar Retable	Other Sacred Objects	Feast
Marble altar retable framing the altarpiece, signed and dated to 1655 by Jacob Jordaens, depicting St. Charles Borromeo Pleading with the Virgin, Who Intercedes with Christ, to Stop the Plague in Milan ¹¹²	The marble enclosure fence dates to the original construction of the chapel	Nov. 4
Marble retable attributed to Sebastian van den Eynden, framing the altarpiece signed and dated 1655 by Pieter van Lint depicting The Farewell of Saints Peter and Paul. A white marble bust of the Virgin Mary decorates the pediment, accompanied by two angels on either side ¹¹⁵	The marble enclosure fence dates to the original construction of the chapel. A window decorated with the founders' coats of arms survived at least to 1855 ¹¹⁶	June 29
Marble altar retable framing the altarpiece by Victor Wolfvoet depicting the Visitation of Our Lady ¹¹⁹	The marble enclosure, along with a wooden pew, since lost, date to the original construction of the chapel ¹²⁰	Jul. 2

¹¹⁴ See above, n.113, and FAA K 316, *Breviarium Capituli Insignis Collegiatae ac Parochialis Ecclesiae Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Antverpiae*. Decerptum ex libro principali ejusdem Actuatoris Anni 174, 46. In 1725 the chapel proprietors made no contribution for painting the church when most other chapels did: RAAKASJA R.14., *Kerkrekening 1725*, f.7v.

¹¹⁵ Van Lerijs 1855, 128; Herremans 2006–2007, v, cat. no. 181.

¹¹⁶ Van Lerijs 1855, 128.

¹¹⁷ RAAKASJA 53, Jun. 27, 1636, church wardens request permission from the Cathedral Chapter to build the chapel; RAAKASJA 1068, receipt from mason Jacques des Enfans for work in the chapel. The consecration date is reported by Van Lerijs 1855, 129.

¹¹⁸ RAAKASJA 53, transcription of Aug. 6, 1636, contract between churchwardens and the heirs of Franco Lopez Franco to the build the chapel.

¹¹⁹ The attribution to Wolfvoet, going back to Jacobus de Wit (*De Wit* 1910, 36–37) was confirmed by Van Lerijs (1855, 130) through information received from J.-B. van der Straelen.

¹²⁰ For the requirement of the marble enclosure, see above, n.118; joiner Sebastian Keldermans was paid 156 guilders, Apr. 22, 1640, for making the pew (RAAKASJA 1081).

Foundation, Membership, Location of Brotherhoods at St. Jacob's in Chronological Order

Brotherhood	Established	Members: m/f	Locations correspond to numbers in fig. 9.1
1. St. Anthony	Jan. 4, 1628 ¹	1628: 140: 26m: 114f new inscriptions 1629–41, 102: 30m: 72f 1642–43: 147: 46m: 101f 1644–66: 112: 20m: 92f suspended operation: ² 1722–35: 64: 62m: 2f ³	Chapel of St. Anthony ⁴

¹ RAAKASJA B.31: rekeningen/ naamboek: 1628–1735 (bound in leather, with tooled cover, worked in gold, with copper clasps), title page: Inden naem des heeren/ Amen/ Register/ Vande Broeders ende Susters/ Ingeschreven inde/ Broederschap die/ ter eeren vanden/ H: Antonius Abt/ is Ingesteld inde/ Parochie=kercke/ van S. Jacob/ Door den eerweerdichsten heere/ H: Joannes Malderus: bischop/ van Antwerpen/ Den 4 Jannuary MDCXXVIIJ; ASJA 560, transcription by Van Lerijs, 6e bylage, 599–600, letter of Bishop Joannes Malderus approving foundation of the brotherhood.

² RAAKASJA B.31, f.1r–12v.

³ RAAKASJA B.31, f.14r–14v.: f.14r: "Alsoo onder de dienende meesters die weder dese Confrerieie soecken te herstellen soo is mit Jaer 1722 als kappelmeesters beginnen te dienen".

⁴ See above, chapter 7.

Brotherhood	Established	Members: m/f	Locations correspond to numbers in fig. 9.1
2. St. Ivo	1630 ⁵	magistrates, lawyers, procurers, and notaries of Antwerp: 100% ^m 1649–51: 130 1658–1675: avg. 66.5/year 1689–90: 119 1698–99: 118 1714–15: 99 1724–25: 68 ⁶	1630–37: High Altar of the Church of the Beggarden at Antwerp ⁷ 1637: Biel Chapel in the ambulatory of St. Jacob's ⁸ elections for new directors at Antwerp City Hall ⁹
3. Holy Trinity	Oct. 10, 1642 ¹⁰	1643–72: 36,796 c.80% f ¹¹	High Altar/ coll. boxes in nave/ images in street ¹²
4. St. Roch	Aug. 12, 1658 ¹³	1728: 19 m/elite ¹⁴	St. Roch Chapel ¹⁵
5. St. James (Jacob: see below, 1681 for second brotherhood dedicated to St. James)	Apr. 18, 1672 ¹⁶	Officers, Antwerp Civic Guard	High Altar; business meetings at Wachtkamer of Antwerp City Hall

5 ABA Bundel IV, Parochie, Kapel en broederschap van St. Yvo: 1630: Erectio confraternitatis S. Yvonis; Geudens 1905, 1–7.

6 Jacobs 1916, 14–15.

7 Geudens 1905, 1.

8 See above, chapter 8; Geudens 1905, 9, notes that although the Biel Chapel was dedicated on April 7, 1638, the Confraternity of St. Yvo celebrated its first mass there on May 25, 1637.

9 Geudens 1905, 9.

10 Vanden Bossche 1647, 31.

11 RAAKASJA B.40.

12 See above, chapter 10.

13 Instellinge ende Onderwijsinghe van Het Broederschap van den H. Rochus 1658, 1, letter of foundation from Bishop Ambrosius Capello.

14 RAAKASJA B.49, Rekeningboek van de kapel: f.86v.: "Lyste der Namen vande Heeren dewelcke syn in het Broederschap vanden H: Rochus inde vermaerde Collegiale ende Parochiale kercke van St. Jacob binnen dese stadt van Antwerpen."

15 See above, chapter 8.

16 RAAKSJA (old number 136/90).

Table (cont.)

Brotherhood	Established	Members: m/f	Locations correspond to numbers in fig. 9.1
6. Virgin of Sorrow	Feb. 1674 ¹⁷	1674: 897: 149m: 748f 1675–1734: avg. 17.5/yr ¹⁸	Image in Our Lady Chapel ¹⁹
7. Fortnightly viaticum	Jul. 5, 1676 ²⁰	1677: 18m/1f 1677–81: 57: avg. 11/yr ²¹	Parish streets/ H. Sacrament Chapel/South transept
8. St. James (Jacob)	by Apr. 27, 1681 ²²	Founded by the “youth” of the Parish	Name Tablet in Chapter Sacristy or ambulatory ²³
9. Shoemakers Journeymen under Sts. Crispin and Crispinianus	1686 ²⁴	Shoemakers Journeymen	Relic in Blessed Sacrament Chapel, Oct. 24, 1738 ²⁵
10. St. Guido of Anderlecht	by 1687 ²⁶ 1740, officially approved by the bishop of Antwerp ²⁷	Coachmen: 1715–53 345: avg: 9/yr 1796: 312 ²⁸	1687: St. Roch Chapel of St. Jacob's; 1737, moved to the St. Eligius Chapel, Paardenmarkt; ²⁹ returned to the St. Roch Chapel of St. Jacob's in 1738 ³⁰

17 RAAKASJA B.52/7.

18 RAAKASJA B.53.

19 For this image, see above, chapter 6 and fig. 6.2.

20 RAAKASJA B.60.

21 RAAKASJA B.147.

22 RAAKASJA B.65/1.

23 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 140, citing *Actorum capituli liber 11*: 18.7.1688.

24 Thijs 1994, 240.

25 RAAKSJA (old number 560), 185.

26 RAAKASJA 57, f.214r.

27 RAAKASJA B.77, included in this folder, but not numbered in the series: Kort Bergryp van de Aflaeten van het Broederschap van den H. Guido, Vergund door syne Heyligheyd Clemens XII. Paus van Roomen, Te verdienen in de Parochiale ende Collegiale kerke van S. Jacob binnen Antwerp, T'Antwerpen by Hubert Bincken, Boek-drukker en Verkooper, op de Katte-vest, (Book censor's approbation dated Aug. 5, 1740), 10–11, bishop's approbation of the Brotherhood of St. Guido in St. Jacob's, dated May 7, 1740.

28 RAAKASJA B.80.

29 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 21.

Brotherhood	Established	Members: m/f	Locations correspond to numbers in fig. 9.1
11. Agony of Death Under Protection of Our Lady of Refuge at Scherpenheuvel, then St. Barbara	May 4, 1693 ³¹		Altar on the North Side of the Choir Screen; ³² Annual Pilgrimage to Scherpenheuvel until 1715 ³³
12. Christian Doctrine under Patronage of Saints Peter and Paul ³⁴	1703		1747, Relics of Sts. Peter and Paul at Altar of St. Joseph on the S. Side of the roodscreen ³⁵
13. Faithful Souls in Purgatory	Nov. 2, 1725 ³⁶	1772–73: 40 contr. members ³⁷ 1787–88: 85 1788–89: 93 1791–92: 94male ³⁸	Two side altars of the roodscreen. ³⁹

30 ABA Bundel v, Parochie, No.36, Broederschap van H. Guido.

31 RAAKASJA B.67.

32 RAAKASJA 1168: f.1r, Inventarisatie ende aenteeckeninge geschiet op den 29en: november 1700 & naer volgende daegen van alle & Igelycke de naervolgende kerckelycke ornamenten, Ciraten & goederen raeckende de Collegiale & Parochiale kercke van St: Iacob binnen deser stadt van Antwerpen fol.gr–v, “De volgende ornamenten worden gebruyckt aenden autaeer van den dootstryt gestaen onder het ocksael”

33 ABA Parochi St. Jacobi, Bundel v, Parochie 33.

34 RAAKASJA B.69: Title page: Eersten Boeck/ der Magistrature/ Behelsende de Naemen/ Der Eerw: Heeren Directeurs/ Onder Directeurs/ Praefecten en andere Offici;/ Van Het Lofweirdig Broederschap Der Christelyke Leringe/ Onder de Bescherming:/ Van De H.H. Petrus en Paulus/ In De Collegiale En Parochiale Kerke/ Van Den H. Jacobus/ Binnen Dese Stadt Antwerpe/ Opegeregt in Het Jaer/ 1703. Calligraphy and illustration: signed: Plume a. Bogaert/ 1781.

35 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 696–697.

36 FAA K 1980: on cover: Inventarissen der vernietighde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen 1786: f.13iv.: No. 42: May 30, 1786: Inventaris van alle welk daenige goederen, inkomsten en lasten van het Broederschap van de geloovige Zielen, gestigt in de vermaerde Collegiale ende parochiaele kerke van ste. Jacobs binnen Antwerpen den tweeden november 1725.

37 ARA Kerkelijke Archieven, Inventaris 10: St. Jacob'skerk, Antwerpen: Nr.10.

38 RAAKASJA B.71.

39 RAAKASJA B.70.

Table (cont.)

Brotherhood	Established	Members: m/f	Locations correspond to numbers in fig. 9.1
14. Linen Weavers Journeyman under St. Severus	1730 in Discalced Carmelites; 1758 in S. Jacob's ⁴⁰		1766: Relic in Blessed. Sacrament Chapel ⁴¹
15. Tailors Journeyman under St. Boniface	Tailors Journeyman associated with St. Jacob's in 1694 ⁴² Founded Dec.9, 1731 ⁴³	1760–76: avg. 95 members ⁴⁴	Relic on north wall of Our Lady Chapel starting Apr. 24, 1735 ⁴⁵
16. Thunder and Lightning (see St. Donatus below)	Aug. 8, 1751 ⁴⁶	1751, 10 artisans of St. Jacob's	Whole church as responsibility

⁴⁰ RAAKASJA (old number 227).

⁴¹ FAA K 318; RAAKASJA (old number 227), Naemboek van de dienende Confreers voor het bestier der Goddelyke Diensten ter Eere van den H Severus Bisschop van Ravenna onder het Genootschap van de Lyne Wevers Opgerecht in't Jaer 0:h:1730. Dezen boek Gemaekt in het Jaer 1805 besluit alleen de naemen der dienende Confreers sedert het Jaer 1766, f.3v.

⁴² RAKASJA B.9: Rekeningboek: 1689–1690–1726–1727, 1694–1695, f.27v.: “20 Dec. 1694: noch ontfangen vande knechten vande kleermaeckers voor haeren feestdagh voort gebruycken vant licht en onrmaneten 5.”

⁴³ RAKASJA B.73, Rekenboek 1731–1756, f.1r., Title page, Eenvaude, en Waere Liefde tot Den Heylighen Bonifacius Bethoont wordende Door de God-minnende Gasten der Cleermaeckers in het onderhouden van dese naervolghende ordonnantie Begonst Negen december van desen jaere 1731.

⁴⁴ RAKASJA B.74.

⁴⁵ RAKASJA B.73, f.12r.-f.20r., records of payment to Jan-Baptist Woens to carve the reliquary, to silver it, of collections to pay for it, and of agreements with the Our Lady Chapel to display it.

⁴⁶ RAAKASJA B.85, title page.

Brotherhood	Established	Members: m/f	Locations correspond to numbers in fig. 9.1
17. St. John Nepomucenus	Mar. 5, 1753 ⁴⁷	1753: 11 male 1753–77: 65 male/elite	relic and image mounted on partition between Holy Cross Chapel and Peat Carriers Chapel in the north aisle, with temporary altar set up there during the saint's feast ⁴⁸
18. St. Cecilia (RAAKASJA 1086)	by 1756		Relic displayed on altar for mass; stored in churchwardens' chamber ⁴⁹
19. St. Donatus (superseded Thunder and Lightning (above, no. 16)	Sept. 2, 1759 ⁵⁰	1759–86: 2,343 1759: 85m/195f 1760: 22m/181f 1765: 24m/105f 1770: 9m/47f 1777: 6m/81f ⁵¹	Relic in reliquary in black marble pedestal (1759) and image (1831) last pillar in the S. aisle, adjacent to the chapel of St. John the Baptist ⁵²

47 RAAKASJA B.82, Grooten Boeck der Confrerie van den Heylighen Joannes Nepomucenus, f.1r.

48 Van Lerijs in RAAKASJA (old number 560), 672–672bis.

49 RAAKASJA 1086.

50 RAAKASJA B.87, Rekeninge Bewys endt Reliqua die mids dezen is doende, ende overgevende Paulus Machilsens in qualiteyt als Praefect der Confrederie van den H. Donatus martelaer opgerecht in de Vermaerde Collegiale ende Parochiale kercke van den heyligene Apostel Iacobus Den 2. 7ber 1759.

51 RAAKASJA B.86.

52 RAAKASJA (old number 560), 64–65.

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- op haeren Schoot. opgerecht den eersten Zondag van den Vasten, Anni 1674; in de Collegiale Kerke, van St. JACOB, in de Capelle van Onze L. Vrouwe, alwaer een zeer devoôt Beéld van de Bedrukte Moeder word geërt. t'Antwerpen, By GERARDUS BERBIE, Boek-drukker ende Verkooper, by de Borze. Antwerp, 1774.*
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